United Nations S/PV.6475

Security Council

Distr.: General
3 February 2011

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 6475th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 3 February 2011, at 3 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 3 February 2011, the Security Council, pursuant to annex II, sections A and B of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 6475th meeting in private with the troop- and police-contributing countries to the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The Security Council and the troop- and police-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Roger Meece, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"Members of the Council, Mr. Meece, Lieutenant-General Gaye, United Nations Military Adviser and representatives of participating contributing countries had an exchange of views."

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United Nations S/PV.6476

Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

Provisional

6476th meeting

Monday, 7 February 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Viotti	(Brazil)
Members:	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	China	Mr. Tian Lin
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Briens
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	Germany	Mr. Wittig
	India	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Nigeria	Mr. Onemola
	Portugal	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation	Mr. Pankin
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2011/20)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

11-22641 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first public meeting of the Council for the month of February, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Ivan Barbalić, Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of January 2011. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Barbalić and his delegation for the great diplomatic skill with which they conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2011/20)

The President: Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I should like to invite the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I also invite Mr. Roger Meece, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2011/20, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I now give the floor to Mr. Meece.

Mr. Meece: It is my honour to appear before the Council today in association with the second report presented by the Secretary-General (S/2011/20) since the adoption of resolution 1925 (2010). I am pleased to note progress in several significant areas of the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), but also note continuing concerns and issues, particularly in regard to the situation in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report.

(*spoke in French*)

Relations between MONUSCO and the Congolese Government have seen continual improvement, as confirmed to us by President Kabila on the occasion of his meeting with the Deputy Secretary-General and me in December 2010. The Mission has thus been able to establish a very constructive dialogue with civil and military stakeholders at all levels of Government. One outcome of this, among others, has been a strengthening of cooperation in terms of military operational cooperation, police training programmes, the approach to stabilization programmes, and the joint assessment process.

(*spoke in English*)

The ongoing joint assessment process incorporates an active review of security conditions, utilizing input from a variety of sources, including non-governmental organizations and the United Nations country team. Findings have validated the MONUSCO presence and approach to security issues, helping also to guide our future planning. There are no recommendations arising to date from this exercise for a change to the overall MONUSCO presence or its general approach, although we will continue to make specific adjustments in response to tactical and threat conditions.

The protection of civilians clearly remains our major priority and focus, driven particularly by the operations of foreign and domestic armed groups in the eastern portion of the country. These groups continue to act as predatory forces, often incorporating the use of rape or other violence as a weapon against civilians, as recently took place, for example, in the Fizi area of South Kivu, where 50 to 80 cases of sexual violence perpetrated by the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR) were reported during the latter half of January. MONUSCO continues to respond to these incidents and to provide all possible support and protection in this area.

Meanwhile, there have also been too many reported cases of abuses committed by members of the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC) and the Congolese national police. We have been working closely with Congolese authorities to address those abuses, and I am encouraged to note a significant increase in 2010 in the number of arrests of Government soldiers and police accused of such abuses. For example, a significant number of rapes and other abuses were committed by FARDC troops in the first days of January, also in the Fizi area, resulting in at least 35 victims of sexual violence. Following rapid intervention by Government authorities and MONUSCO, 11 soldiers were arrested, including their commanding officer and three other officers. Such action is a welcome step towards ending the impunity felt by too many for too long.

It is important to note, however, that there are still significant weaknesses in the capacity of civilian and military justice systems. MONUSCO has taken action to bolster military prosecution capabilities with the establishment of joint prosecution cells, thanks to support provided by the Government of Canada and the Peacebuilding Fund. But much greater efforts are needed. I must also note that programmes to integrate former members of armed groups create additional problems. While such programmes are an essential component of the efforts to address the problem of independent Congolese armed groups, those individuals integrated without adequate training tend too often to be associated with reported abuses.

To address this issue and the great need for the general professionalization of the security services of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I strongly support all efforts to increase to a sufficient level the amount of training provided to the FARDC. I would also wish to underscore the importance of increasing the capabilities of the Congolese national police. While MONUSCO initiated in September a long-term training programme for newly integrated police, with financial support from the Japan International Cooperation Agency, much more is needed.

The fundamental cause of continuing violence in the East, of course, rests with the presence and activity of remaining armed groups. Of these, the Rwandan FDLR continues to retain the greatest military capacity, operating primarily in North and South Kivu provinces. I can report, however, some hopeful signs in the long-standing effort directed against this derivative of the former Rwandan Army and Interahamwe forces.

Actions taken in Europe against key FDLR political leaders have clearly had a demoralizing impact on forces on the ground, which, along with new Security Council sanctions targeting key FDLR leaders and more active MONUSCO operations undertaken in collaboration with the FARDC, have increased pressure on FDLR and other forces in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. Consequently, we have seen internal FDLR strains and operational problems, and some increase in the number of more senior officers who have presented themselves for repatriation.

It is certainly premature to assert that the FDLR is collapsing, but the group's capacity is diminishing and under strain. In fact, for the first time in my experience in the region, I believe that the outlines can be seen of an eventual resolution of this long-standing threat to the population of the region. We are not at the point of success, but there has been clear progress. I consider it vitally important that the political and military pressure be maintained to the maximum extent possible in order to build on this encouraging trend.

Other foreign groups obviously also remain a significant problem. Notably, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is still a major threat, with its brutal tactics and operations. While the numbers of LRA fighters in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are limited, they operate in very remote areas, and the cross-border regional dimension renders control difficult. Efforts continue to increase regional cooperation, including the establishment in late 2010 of the joint intelligence and operations centre in Dungu, Orientale province. LRA leader Joseph Kony has reportedly remained outside the Democratic Republic of the Congo in recent months, and in my view, as the key to the LRA as an organization, he should remain a focus of attention, as a complement to our and others' ongoing civilian protection efforts.

I would also note that the unfolding situation in South Sudan in the aftermath of the referendum also bears careful monitoring regarding possible opportunities for the LRA and, indeed, the general security environment in the region. We have been in consultation with Congolese Government officials regarding these issues, and have also initiated contingency planning based on possible scenarios.

In recent months, MONSUCO has maintained a substantially increased level of operations relative to the threat of armed groups in the East. A variety of models have been employed, including unilateral MONUSCO operations and those conducted in conjunction with related FARDC operations. All, however, are planned and conducted in full cooperation with the FARDC and Congolese Government authorities. I am pleased with how this collaboration has continued to develop, and I believe that this approach, while not free of problems, has been effective, as evidenced in reduced operational opportunities for armed groups and in pressure to encourage disarmament and repatriation or reintegration actions.

All support to the FARDC is, of course, undertaken in compliance with the conditionality policy in support of strict standards in observance of human rights. I am absolutely convinced that this more active military posture is a necessary component to achieve the conditions of long-term security that are the shared goal of MONUSCO and the Congolese Government.

I am obliged, however, to note resource concerns. A shortage of military helicopters imposes significant constraints on operations. The decision of the Indian Government to extend the use of existing combat helicopters until July is most welcome and provides needed breathing room, but we are still facing serious shortfalls that are projected to increase absent new timely contributions. To the somewhat limited extent that these shortfalls can be mitigated through increased use of civilian helicopters, this also increases strains on our already very stretched budget, and I am also very concerned about this.

I would also note that we have been moving ahead actively with a variety of initiatives to provide increased protection against imminent threats, as was outlined to the Council last year. These include the establishment of community alert networks, the augmentation of the number of community liaison interpreters, the utilization of cell phones with pre-set contact numbers and of UHF radios, and other actions. I will not claim that all these efforts will achieve perfect results. I believe, however, that we have made significant progress in identifying risks and responding swiftly to cases of violence, and we will continue to actively review all operations and initiatives in order to continue to be as effective as possible in this priority area.

I would also like to note movement to deal with the illegal exploitation and trade in conflict minerals supporting armed groups in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. In addition to the Congolese national efforts, including the ongoing establishment of five trading centres supported by MONUSCO and several other United Nations agencies, and the initiatives undertaken in the United Sates and Europe to control international commerce, an important regional summit was conducted in Lusaka in December to address this issue. That summit, with the full participation of President Kabila and many other regional leaders, represented an important step forward. I strongly hope that this momentum at all levels — national, regional and international — can be maintained.

As a critical component of the long-term stabilization of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I would also like to emphasize that good progress has been made towards the conduct of national elections this year. While their conduct is obviously challenging, preparations for general elections have moved forward. I believe that the importance of the need for transparent and open conditions to ensure successful democratic elections is very clear, as is the key importance of such elections to Congo's continuing stability. MONUSCO has been actively providing needed logistical support, with over 2,600 tons of election-related material transported to date to 190 hubs and sub-hubs. Progress towards ensuring overall financing of the Congolese election budget also has been satisfactory.

I must note my concern, however, about MONUSCO budget levels, as it is not yet clear that we will have needed funds in the 2011/2012 budget cycle to ensure the necessary logistical support we are uniquely positioned to provide. If we face MONUSCO budget shortfalls, we will be obliged to utilize funds from other parts of the Mission's budget, potentially with quite significant negative impact on other important operations. We are engaged in active discussions regarding these vitally important questions. A failure to conduct credible elections would, of course, represent a major setback to the very significant progress achieved over many years in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Finally, I would like to underscore that I believe we are making important headway in implementing the overall stabilization agenda, and I would note some important initiatives in the western Democratic Republic of the Congo in furtherance of that goal. A draft integrated peace consolidation programme has been prepared with the United Nations country team and international partners, and has been well received by Congolese Government authorities. In a related step, in MONUSCO we are moving ahead with an innovative pilot programme to replace several traditional head-of-office positions in the western Democratic Republic of the Congo with area-coordinator positions drawn from United Nations agencies. We believe that this step should enhance our ability to deliver effective results and improve coordination within the United Nations family, consistent with a one United Nations approach.

(*spoke in French*)

Before I conclude, I should like to express my most sincere gratitude to all the staff of MONUSCO and United Nations agencies in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who are working tirelessly to establish lasting stability in the country and to ensure a better future for the Congolese people.

(*spoke in English*)

With this support, and while cognizant of the ongoing challenges and difficulties, I remain optimistic that, with sustained engagement and support, we are on a path towards achieving the kind of security and stable conditions that the people of the Congo and region richly deserve. I thank the members of the Council for their attention and continuing support of our Mission.

The President: I thank Mr. Meece for his briefing.

I give the floor to the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): Allow me at the outset to express my satisfaction at seeing you, Madame, presiding over the Security Council this month. You represent a country, Brazil, with which the Democratic Republic of the Congo enjoys excellent relations based on mutual respect and esteem. I take this opportunity to join you in thanking your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the masterly manner in which he led the work of the Council last month, as well as for his zeal, expertise and competence in discharging his duties.

In reiterating my best wishes for his success, I pay a well-deserved tribute to Ambassador Roger Meece for his work in his capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General at the head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). I thank him for his exhaustive briefing and introduction of the Secretary-General's report in document S/2011/20, before the Council today.

The Council has heard the Special Representative of the Secretary-General describe the good relationship between my Government and MONUSCO as it fulfils its mandate, which I can confirm. The joint assessment has yet to suggest the need for a new configuration of MONUSCO's mandate or deployment. That in itself speaks volumes. While a great many things have been accomplished, significant challenges remain, as the Special Representative eloquently stressed.

Eleven years ago, during the Security Council's debate of 10 January 2000 on the impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa (see S/PV.4087), although I was not yet Ambassador I drew the Council's attention to and denounced the use of rape as a weapon of war in my country. As I recently stressed at the first regular session of the Executive Board of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, held from 24 to 26 January, for the Democratic Republic of the Congo violence against women remains a real scourge, a dark reminder and a sinister legacy of a decade of ruptured international peace and security, of which my country was the expiatory victim.

The third International Action of the World March of Women, held in Bukavo from 13 to 17 October 2010, and the opening just a few days ago, also in Bukavo, of the City of Joy for Congolese women who have escaped sexual violence are among the significant indications that it is time to put an end to that barbaric practice. I reiterate once again the unfailing commitment of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to eliminating the scourge of sexual violence.

The fight against violence against women, particularly sexual violence, is a shared but differentiated responsibility of the international community and the United Nations, whose management of the Great Lakes crisis a decade ago

was not one of its shining moments. It is, of course, also the responsibility of the Congolese Government, which is primarily responsible for security, the protection of civilians and ensuring respect for the rule of law, international humanitarian law and human rights in our country.

I am quite optimistic and confident about the outcome of the visit now under way by Ms. Margot Wallström, Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, particularly regarding the preparation of strategies for preventing and deterring sexual violence against women. However, these crimes against humanity, by whosoever committed — nationals, foreigner or even messengers of peace — call for reparations. They require us to put an end to this impunity. We should also stress that, despite these shortcomings, the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains one of the rare countries where senior officers have been prosecuted and incarcerated for acts directly related to sexual violence.

The assistance provided to us by MONUSCO, particularly in apprehending perpetrators and setting up early warning systems with a view to preventing possible cases of rape, should also be highlighted. In that regard, I am very reassured by the fact that the process aimed at providing a response to the report of the mapping exercise documenting the most serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law committed between March 1993 and June 2003 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has made substantial progress.

The judicial architecture to be established, while delivering justice to the millions of Congolese who fell victim to the rupture in international peace and security, will certainly be built in such a way as to enable us to know which cases of rape are still being committed. The return of peace, of total peace, is the best guarantee for putting an end to these acts that we deplore. That is why, in areas where insecurity persists, the fight against foreign and Congolese armed groups must be pursued, with the support of MONUSCO and other interested partners.

In the northern part of the country, the fortunate developments in the Central African Republic and the Sudan should enable us to better coordinate to effectively combat the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Those developments will also help us in the eastern part of the country, in the North and South Kivu provinces, in the fight against the remnants of foreign armed groups, most of Rwandan origin, and against those of my Congolese countrymen who have become outlaws.

The fight against armed groups must be waged in tandem with security sector reform. Organic laws to reform the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC), the organization and functioning of the armed forces and the organization, funding and functioning of the Superior Council of Defence, as well as a draft organic law on the police, were recently enacted by Parliament. We should now expedite the security sector reform process with a view to meeting the requirements of a national, republican and apolitical army that is subject to constitutionally established civilian authority at all levels of power. That authority should respect and protect the dignity and fundamental freedoms of the individual, particularly of women, while also taking into account the country's geopolitical and geostrategic importance. Everyone agrees that such reform is essential to the stabilization and post-conflict consolidation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I would now like to briefly review the humanitarian situation. The report of the Secretary-General (S/2011/20) is quite detailed in that sense, particularly in regard to the eastern and southern provinces. Overall, the situation remains a source of concern, although we should recognize the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and MONUSCO. The situation is particularly worrisome not only in the east, but also in the west.

In the north-west, the Government signed a tripartite agreement with the sisterly Republic of the Congo and UNHCR, and adopted a timetable establishing 20 April as the date on which operations would begin to repatriate my country's displaced from northern Republic of the Congo. The rainy season has made the living conditions of the displaced quite precarious. The UNHCR requires additional resources to help both Congos to provide assistance to the displaced.

Further to the west, the Democratic Republic of the Congo recognizes the sovereign right of all countries to manage their immigration policies as they deem fit. However, as we do with other countries on a daily basis, particularly those in the northern

hemisphere, we would ask that the expulsions of Congolese nationals be carried out with dignity and in accordance with the relevant commitments made more than 10 years ago.

The year 2011 will certainly be an election year in Africa. The Democratic Republic of the Congo plans to hold elections in late November. All Council members have followed the discussions that led to the constitutional review. It is important to emphasize that no one in the Democratic Republic of the Congo questions the constitutionality of that review. Regardless of the real or alleged intentions of those who initiated the review, it is worth emphasizing that they did so in full compliance with articles 218 and 219 of the Constitution of 18 February 2006.

It is equally useful to recall that the debate on the review of the Constitution dates back to 2006, when it was promulgated by the President of the Republic. The hardliners still hope that Parliament — which was newly elected at the time and on which the people, the supreme leaders, will be voting again this year — will review the entire Constitution, which was the result of trade-offs, negotiations and even bargaining among non-elected entities during the political transition period. The minimalists, for their part, are in favour of making adjustments as and when necessary as institutions grow stronger and reassert themselves.

In any case, the Government is firmly convinced that the review will enable it to assume its historic responsibility to adjust the ambitions of our young democracy, which is still finding its voice, to match its own resources and to learn from other African experiences.

Moreover, as highlighted in the report of the Secretary-General, my Government has made a commitment to covering the majority of the election costs. This is a sovereign decision, dating back to 2006, that was presented to and accepted by the Steering Committee. Given our current economic difficulties, this is a significant sacrifice that will be useful and necessary if one day we wish to organize elections as they are organized in all democracies worthy of that name.

The Congolese Government will be responsible for the security of candidates, polling stations and results. We have already requested logistical support from MONUSCO. It is thanks to MONUSCO that we have already begun to distribute various electoral materials. My country has assumed the fuel and maintenance costs of the distribution. We are now awaiting detailed instructions from the newly established Independent National Electoral Commission on how to organize the electoral process, in particular voter registration, electoral lists, voting operations and ballot counting. In short, we ask the Commission to shine a light on our path towards these elections.

These are the few points that I wished to raise in this morning's meeting. I cannot conclude, however, without first expressing my gratitude to you, Madame President, in your other, high capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1533 (2004) concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Relations between my Government and the various groups of experts we have seen since 2001 have rarely been contentious and have been characterized by respect for the scope of action of all actors involved, despite our differences. Often, and this was again the case last year, the reports of the Group of Experts have largely strengthened the peace process. One can readily identify the modest contribution of the Group of Experts in the resolutions and decisions adopted at the summit of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region on mineral resources management and certification, which was held in Lusaka, Zambia, on 15 December 2010. The collaboration between the Group of Experts and the Government, through the Ministry of Mining, is far from over.

We hope to continue benefiting from the Group's expertise, particularly this year, during which the Democratic Republic of the Congo will chair the Kimberley process. The same holds true for other areas, such as the fight against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, in which the Group's ideas have certainly held our attention. In other words, my country hopes to continue to work closely with the Council and the Group of Experts established pursuant to resolution 1952 (2010) in a spirit of mutual respect. That is our request.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. I should now like to invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 10.40 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6477

Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

Provisional

6477th meeting

Tuesday, 8 February 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Viotti	(Brazil)
Members:	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	China	Mr. Yang Tao
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Araud
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	Germany	Mr. Wittig
	India	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Nigeria	Mr. Onemola
	Portugal	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Mrs. DiCarlo

Agenda

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in maintaining international peace and security.

European Union

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11-22784 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in maintaining international peace and security

European Union

The President: Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Baroness Catherine Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. I give the floor to Baroness Ashton.

Baroness Ashton: Thank you, Madame, for giving me the opportunity to again address the Council on the contribution of the European Union (EU) to international peace and security. As you know, we have a long-standing commitment to effective multilateralism, with a strong United Nations at its core. Regional organizations are building blocks for global governance, with a dual responsibility, first, to enhance security, development and human rights in their own region; and secondly, to support United Nations efforts to promote those goals around the world.

When I spoke to the Security Council last year (see S/PV.6306), I updated members on the progress regarding the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty and the promises that it held for strengthening our contribution to addressing international concerns. I am pleased to report that, as of 1 January, the European External Action Service, one of the Lisbon Treaty's main innovations, is up and running. It operates under my authority and brings together all our global instruments. In our view, the Lisbon Treaty and the External Action Service are not just good for Europe; they also make us a better partner for the United Nations, and we are very grateful for the Council's help in recognizing this.

In many countries today, we are seeing people demand greater freedoms, democracy and accountability. In North Africa and the Middle East, we are seeing demonstrations of people's basic wish to be guaranteed political participation, fundamental freedoms, social justice and economic development. Last Friday, the 27 Heads of State and Government of the European Union saluted the peaceful and dignified expression by the Tunisian and Egyptian peoples of their legitimate, democratic, economic and social aspirations, which are in accord with the values that the European Union promotes for itself and throughout the world.

Our position is clear — the democratic aspirations of citizens must be met through dialogue, genuine political reform and free and fair elections that are well prepared. These are not just words. The European Union will offer practical support to the transition processes. I have already discussed this with the new Tunisian Foreign Minister, and I will visit the region next week to clarify further how we can help. We know from our own experience how difficult the establishment of genuine democracy can be. These are not linear processes. So we will help countries not only to run free and fair elections, but also to fight corruption, make local administration more transparent, ensure the independence of the media and make the justice system fully independent.

We are witnessing major change in the Middle East. The contours of what will eventually emerge are not yet clear — they cannot be — but we do know that urgent progress on the Middle East peace process is vital, now more than ever. This weekend, I chaired an important meeting of the Quartet in Munich to review the current situation and chart a common plan of action. The search for a negotiated peace between Israel and the Palestinians has dominated the region for decades. Current developments must bring us closer to that goal, not farther away, and I am pleased that the Quartet agreed on a specific path to do this, with a follow-up meeting of our envoys in Brussels. For the first time, the Quartet will meet separately with Palestinian and Israeli negotiators to hear their views. We further agreed to meet again at the ministerial level in March to ensure that momentum is kept up, and we confirm our support for having a framework agreement in place by September 2011.

The parameters for peace as seen by the European Union are well known: two States, co-existing in peace and security, with a Palestinian State that is sovereign, independent, democratic, contiguous and viable, based on the 1967 borders, with Jerusalem as the future capital of two States. Our position on this and on

related issues, including settlements, remains unchanged.

We are also active in laying the foundations of a future Palestinian State through practical measures. We are at the forefront of providing budgetary support and assistance on security to the Palestinian Authority. During my most recent visit to the region, I confirmed that we will front-load an initial financial package of €100 million for the occupied Palestinian territories under the 2011 budget. I also discussed the new Palestinian National Plan with Prime Minister Fayyad in Paris last week, and reconfirmed our support for his plan. We will also host the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee meeting in Brussels on 13 April to promote efforts on Palestinian State-building.

The Security Council also knows well the needs of the people of Gaza, and we are committed to supporting them. I have proposed a comprehensive package of EU support for the Gaza crossings, focusing on infrastructure, equipment and training. Our objective remains an unconditional opening of those crossings, while addressing Israel's legitimate security needs.

There is a third issue that affects the landscape of the wider Middle East, and indeed global security, and that is the Iranian nuclear issue. On 20 and 21 January, I chaired a series of meetings between the E3+3/P5+1 with Iran. Given the well-known difficulties, our aim was not to look for an immediate agreement but to focus on building confidence. The fundamental problem is that we do not have confidence that the Iranian nuclear programme is purely civilian in nature. Regrettably, our concrete proposals to build confidence and transparency were met by an Iranian request that we first recognize Iran's right to the entire fuel cycle, including enrichment, and a lifting of sanctions.

That was disappointing. As the Council has underlined on several occasions, Iran is at present not complying with various obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. From our side, we reiterated that we remain committed to the path of dialogue. Our practical proposals remain on the table. If Iran were to adopt some of the transparency measures that most countries already implement, we would be starting a process that could go far.

As I mentioned, electoral processes are essential mechanisms for enabling people to enjoy their political rights, but they are also very delicate. The situation in three countries has shown just how important it is for electoral processes to be underpinned by comprehensive political strategies.

Let me first refer to the successful developments in South Sudan. The preparations and organization of the referendum went well. I would like to praise the Sudanese authorities for their willingness to find a peaceful solution ensuring the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. They should continue to do so and resolve all outstanding issues. I also want to commend the United Nations for the political leadership shown in this process. This confirms that real progress can be made when the international community persists with concerted efforts.

We now have to stay focused so that the region does not slip back into the violence that has marred it for decades. The European Union contributed to the referendum through the deployment of an important observer mission. We will continue to engage with the North and South alike — including on the crucial task of building the vital democratic institutions — in full cooperation with the United Nations and other partners.

Unfortunately, in some cases electoral processes aimed at helping States move on from conflict and internal strife have run into difficulties. Here, we have to remain firm and engaged. In Côte d'Ivoire, the European Union fully supports the leadership of the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States and the key role played by the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire. The EU recognizes President Ouattara as the winner of the elections and has also adopted targeted sanctions on individuals and entities closely allied to former President Gbagbo to step up the pressure and persuade him to heed the results of the election. Going forward, we all want to see real results from the process that was launched at the recent African Union Summit, and which the EU supports.

In Haiti, the recent electoral crisis proves that reinforcing democratic institutions is essential. The Provisional Electoral Council has taken a positive step in announcing the final results of the first round of the presidential and legislative elections. Now, all political forces in Haiti need to contribute responsibly to the electoral process so that the second round can be concluded in line with the Constitution and the will of

the Haitian people. A transparent democratic transition and political stability are prerequisites for success with Haiti's recovery and reconstruction. The EU is contributing significant resources to both civil administration and the wider reconstruction of the country.

The ideals of freedom, democracy and accountability are universal, but they require the presence of some forms of State order. As this Council knows well, the international community also has to deal with failed States where warlords and criminal gangs prevent the establishment of the rule of law. In these situations, we should focus first on ensuring stability and security as the basis for any economic and social development. There are several cases around the world where the international community is working to build functioning States where current structures fall short. Somalia is a clear example. The EU has an important and successful naval operation off shore, called Atalanta. But there can be no long-term solution to the problem of piracy without more stability on shore and greater regional capabilities. Therefore, we are working hard on these three tracks as part of an overall regional strategy.

Security, development, democracy, good governance and respect for human rights are all interlinked. We must pursue these goals in concert or none will succeed. That means addressing both the wider root causes of conflict and developing appropriate tools to address them. For example, we know that in some cases the question of politicized access to natural resources can cause or perpetuate conflict. Similarly, climate change has a real impact on vulnerable people and places, and hence on global peace and security. These issues cannot be tackled by fragmented approaches.

We should all invest more in conflict prevention, finding ways to channel grievances through peaceful means while addressing the underlying causes: underdevelopment, weak institutions and lack of democracy and respect for human rights. In this context, I want to commend the Brazilian presidency of the Council for convening a special meeting next Friday on the links between development and security. The EU is very engaged in making and supporting the necessary connections between these areas, both at headquarters and in the field, in full coordination with the United Nations and other international partners.

I have limited my comments to some of the cases which are perhaps the most pressing, but there are many others in which the EU is engaged, with and in support of the United Nations to protect the vulnerable and ensure that genuine democracy can take root. Let me end by acknowledging the great responsibility of this Council in steering the international community away from conflict and confrontation. In carrying out its tasks, it can count on the full commitment and support of the EU.

The President: I thank Baroness Ashton for her briefing.

I now give the floor to the members of the Council.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Baroness Ashton for her briefing. I welcome this second visit of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union, which attests to the importance of European Union engagement within the United Nations.

I need not recall that the European Union has long been a prime political mover — a reality that the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty has strengthened further. The European Union — the largest contributor to the United Nations budget, responsible for some 40 per cent — undertakes decisive action in pursuit of the Charter objective to ensure international peace and security.

Having brought peace to the old continent, which was a source of numerous conflicts, the European Union plays its full role in managing crises around the world. On the one hand, it has launched many civilian and military operations, mandated by the Security Council. Without going into exhaustive detail, I cite by way of example the support of the European Union and its member States for such varied operations as those in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, on land and at sea in Somalia, and in Kosovo. Moreover, in the case of serious humanitarian crises or natural disasters, the European Union plays a decisive role in emergency assistance and reconstruction. In Haiti, for instance, we offered our expertise and committed more than €1.5 billion, making the European Union once again the largest donor.

The European Union is also involved in the resolution of major international crises. From that perspective, I thank the High Representative for her

very useful and enlightening comments today on the meeting of the Middle East Quartet that she chaired. That meeting, she told us, was just a first step; it should augur a change in the political software used by the international community to advance towards a negotiated final settlement of the dispute, the parameters of which are familiar to us all and which we know the two parties are incapable of achieving by themselves. Phased approaches have proven to be paths to nowhere, and we must therefore move on to a final settlement. We hope that the Quartet will play a key role in that regard.

I should also like to revert to the Iranian nuclear issue, in which the European Union is represented by the E3+3 in negotiations to ensure that Iran honours its international obligations, especially with regard to the Security Council. As has been recalled, at the Istanbul summit the six reaffirmed their unity and steadfastness, while the Iranians insisted on new conditions in pursuing the same dilatory tactics they have used for the past six years.

With regard to another priority international portfolio — counter-terrorism — on 31 January Baroness Ashton was asked by the Council on Foreign Relations to develop a European Union strategy for the Sahel, which we hope will be adopted as soon as possible. Its goal is to combat the links between Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and drug trafficking channels in West Africa. This is clearly a subject of great interest to both the European Union and the Security Council.

Lastly, the European Union is an essential partner in preventing conflict and building peace. As Baroness Ashton has mentioned, the Brazilian presidency will in a few days organize a Security Council debate on the interdependence between security and development. In that regard, it is worth recalling that the European Union is the main provider of official development assistance, contributing more than 60 per cent of the assistance provided by member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development — that is, about €50 billion annually. The European Union's participation in this debate therefore has particular relevance.

Beyond financial assistance, however, I should like to refer to the efforts of the European Union in the areas of good governance, respect for human rights and gender equality. As the European Council affirmed on 4 February, the European Union is determined to provide its unreserved support for political transition and to support reforms in the southern Mediterranean. European heads of State have entrusted the High Representative with a mission in that regard.

Of course, much remains to be done. However, as Robert Schuman said in his speech of 9 May 1950, Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity. That is equally true when it comes to foreign policy. The time has come to say and to demonstrate that the European Union is not some super non-governmental organization or purveyor of assistance. It has values and projects power.

You can therefore count on France's determination, Madam President, as a permanent member of the Security Council and as a founding member of the European Union, to ensure that that EU assumes its share of responsibility in building a world of peace, stability and prosperity, in line with the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Barbalić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): At the outset, allow me to express our appreciation to Baroness Catherine Ashton, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, for her cross-cutting briefing on the engagements of the European Union (EU) and its relations with the United Nations.

A new phase in the EU's history started more than a year ago with the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. The Treaty provides the European Union with tools to strengthen and simplify its international representation. During the past year, the European External Action Service was created under the able leadership of Lady Ashton. The Service should reach its full potential in 2011, resulting in the EU's increased aptitude for maintaining international peace and security, combating poverty and providing humanitarian assistance, to mention some of the significant areas of the EU's activities.

Challenges and risks to international peace and security require a multidimensional and multilateral response. It is therefore commendable that the European Union and the United Nations are jointly addressing major global crises in the Middle East, the Sudan, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad and Haiti. The European Union and the

United Nations share a strong commitment to peace consolidation, the rule of law and socio-economic development in post-conflict societies. Hence tangible results have been achieved in those areas. However, we believe that there is always room for improvement in the multidimensional approach to which I have referred.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has had rather intensive cooperation and interaction with a variety of actors in the international community in its recent history. One of the lessons learned during the international engagement in our country was that all actors of the international community — civilian, military, economic and political — should speak with one voice. The Security Council presidential statement issued under the symbol S/PRST/2011/2 underscores that more coherent and coordinated actions represent an essential precondition for the success of every mission undertaken by international community actors — whether the United Nations or the EU or UNHCR, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme or the International Organization of la Francophonie.

Bosnia and Herzegovina therefore strongly encourages the European Union to be more vocal in the United Nations, with a view to establishing adequate coordination mechanisms for better coherence and efficiency of EU and United Nations military and civilian operations. The role of the EU is especially important when it comes to the issue of sharing experiences and improving coordination with other regional and subregional organizations, especially with the African Union.

Finally, as a member of the Security Council and potential candidate for EU membership, Bosnia and Herzegovina remains fully committed to bolstering and developing cooperation and effective partnerships between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations, including the European Union.

Mr. Moraes Cabral (Portugal): I thank you for convening this meeting, Madam President. I also welcome the statement of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

One of the main objectives of the Lisbon Treaty is to enhance the European Union's international role. One year after its entry into force, important steps have already been taken in order to give the Union a stronger and more unified voice and capacity to act, as High Representative Ashton has just underlined.

Given the importance of the cooperation between the European Union (EU) and the United Nations, as partners with shared values and objectives, we believe that strengthening the EU's foreign policy will also contribute to reinforcing an effective multilateral system with the United Nations at its centre.

The challenges of the twenty first century demand the concerted action of global, regional and subregional actors. With its specific tools in the fields of security, crisis management, development and the environment, among other areas, the EU is in a singular position to support the United Nations in responding to the multidimensional challenges to peace and security.

As has already been mentioned, the European Union and its member States jointly make the largest financial contribution to the United Nations system. The EU plays a central role in peace-making, peacekeeping and peacebuilding and works with the United Nations to prevent conflicts, manage crises and build sustainable peace. There are several good examples where the cooperation between the two organizations is taking place or can be further developed, be it in the Balkans, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Somalia or the Sudan.

Allow me now to address some of the issues mentioned by the High Representative in Africa and Middle East.

In the Sudan, the conclusion of a timely and peaceful referendum is a historic accomplishment and a milestone, not only in terms of underlining the Sudanese people's attachment to democratic processes but also as evidence of what can be achieved through cooperation and commitment among all stakeholders. Its outcome will allow for the stability and sustainable development of both South and North Sudan and pave the way for the normalization of relations between Khartoum and the international community.

The High Representative has underlined the EU's continued engagement in that process. In the short term, this means supporting the international efforts to reach an agreement on all outstanding Comprehensive Peace Agreement and post-referendum issues,

including Abyei and the difficult security and humanitarian situation prevailing in Darfur. It also means, in the period ahead, working closely with the United Nations towards peace, stability and the integrated development of the subregion.

The EU and the United Nations have also been working together to help stabilize the situation in Somalia, as was mentioned by the High Representative. The support to the African Union Mission in Somalia, the cooperation between the European Union, the United Nations and the African Union in the training of Somali military personnel and the coordinated efforts in fighting piracy off the coast of Somalia provide good examples of this. However, continued strong coordination between the three organizations, along with other international stakeholders, is crucial, as those efforts must be accompanied by an upgraded and comprehensive political strategy for the country in order to achieve a long-term sustainable solution.

With regard to Côte d'Ivoire, we concur with the High Representative's assessment. In the aftermath of the AU summit last week, Portugal welcomes the recent creation of the African Union high-level panel for Côte d'Ivoire. In keeping with the objectives of the Africa-European Union Strategic Partnership, it is very important to back this genuinely African effort to find a political solution to the current stalemate. Such support represents a strong signal of our willingness to work closely with African regional and subregional organizations on issues of peace and security.

More generally, we see that some of the challenges faced by Côte d'Ivoire are shared by other countries in the region. That is why we think that it is important for the European Union and the United Nations to give serious consideration to their approach to West Africa as a whole, as I have stressed on different occasions in the Council.

The European Union and its member States have been following the recent developments in the Maghreb and the Middle East very closely. That is a region with which the European Union has long-standing relations and where, through a number of instruments and mechanisms, it has developed genuine and effective bilateral and regional partnerships, as Baroness Ashton has just alluded to. She also mentioned a number of steps that the European Union is undertaking in the light of recent events with the aim of jointly furthering, with its partners, the shared goal of building stability, peace and prosperity in the Mediterranean and the Middle East region.

The developments that we are witnessing will undoubtedly have a decisive impact on the future of the region and beyond. As my Minister recently stated, the many issues affecting that region cannot be addressed "in a fragmented, unlinked, inconsistent and incoherent manner". They require an efficient partnership between all stakeholders. Over the decades, the European Union has developed an important acquis of instruments that can and should complement United Nations efforts to promote peace and security in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Together, the European Union and United Nations should develop a complementary partnership capable of adequately responding to the many challenges in the region.

Portugal stands fully behind Baroness Ashton's remarks concerning the Middle East and the peace process. Indeed, the current developments in the region clearly underscore the urgency of a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. Portugal thus reiterates the Quartet's most recent appeal to the parties to overcome the current obstacles in the peace process and to engage in serious negotiations on the basis of the well-known parameters for peace. I thank Baroness Ashton for clearly reaffirming those parameters. We know what the issues are. What is needed is the effective political will to address them, with the serious ambition of reaching peace through a comprehensive agreement on all final status issues, as underlined by our French colleague.

Ending the 63-year conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is the shared aspiration of all those in the Chamber. That is surely another area where the European Union and the United Nations can actively work together towards a positive outcome, through both the Quartet and the relevant United Nations bodies.

I conclude by saying that the very fact that this meeting is taking place reflects the important role that regional organizations play in the overall contribution to peace and security. That clearly results from the United Nations Charter, and the European Union has been part of that effort.

The Treaty of Lisbon represents yet another step forward in the Union's vision and capacity in that area, which we strongly believe can be instrumental to the United Nations in pursuing its universal goals.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We would like to welcome Baroness Catherine Ashton, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission.

This Security Council meeting takes place just a few days after the conclusion of the Munich Security Conference, which provided a good opportunity to discuss informally current issues of international security. On the margins of the Conference, there was a broad range of important events that also have a direct impact on the maintenance of international stability.

I hope that colleagues will not mind if we deem the most important event to have been the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed on 8 April 2010 in Prague by the Presidents of Russia and the United States of America. That document became a reality thanks largely to the understanding that unilateral approaches to security are counterproductive.

We are pleased that the resolve to improve international relations, including in the Euro-Atlantic region, is supported by our European partners. Recently, they put forward a whole range of ideas that are basically in line with the initiative of Russian President Dmitry Medvedev to conclude a treaty on Euro-Atlantic security. In particular, German Chancellor Angela Merkel proposed the establishment of a Russia-European Union committee on foreign policy and security issues that would raise cooperation between Moscow and Brussels to a completely new level.

A priority of our cooperation with the European Union (EU) and the United Nations, including as part of the Quartet of leading international mediators, is the topical issue of a Middle East settlement. The most recent ministerial-level meeting of the Quartet took place on 5 February in Munich, at Russia's initiative. During the meeting, there was a substantive exchange of views on the situation in the Middle East, including in the light of recent events in Egypt and other countries in the region.

Russia commends the efforts of the EU to support the Middle East peace process. Our positions on that issue are broadly the same. EU support for Palestinian State-building and the restoration of normal trade and economic links between the Gaza Strip and the outside world are important. We consider it necessary to bolster those efforts in active pursuit of intra-Palestine unity. We, in turn, are also striving to solve this issue by acting in coordination with regional and other partners.

We count on continuing fruitful cooperation with the EU on an entire range of issues linked to the Iranian nuclear programme.

The Sudan also represents an important area of our productive cooperation with the EU and the United Nations. We welcome the successful holding of the referendum on self-determination in Southern Sudan. That demonstrated the resolve of the Sudanese parties to fully implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). It is important that both parties to the Agreement recognize the referendum results. The priority now is to settle the remaining obstacles with constructive international assistance in a mutually acceptable way, as part of the CPA.

In her statement, Baroness Ashton also mentioned the issue of Côte d'Ivoire. The situation in that country remains tense. Action that could further exacerbate the situation must be avoided. We support the diplomatic efforts of the African Union and its high-level panel of mediators to develop options for a political settlement, to bring about national reconciliation in the country and to create the conditions to overcome its long-term de facto schism.

The international community needs to support those efforts by believing that there is no reasonable alternative to a peaceful solution to the crisis. Any interference using force is the quickest path to the long-term destabilization of the situation in the Côte d'Ivoire and the entire subregion.

We agree with Baroness Ashton's assessment of the situation in Haiti. Currently, the top priority for Haitians is to conclude the electoral process peacefully and to elect the leadership of the country democratically. Given the scale of Haiti's problems, comprehensive international assistance to that country must continue. Nevertheless, the main responsibility for Haiti's recovery should be borne by the people of the country.

The Russian Federation has consistently supported comprehensive development and better cooperation with the United Nations, the Security

Council and regional and subregional mechanisms. Cooperation should be on the basis of the United Nations Charter, in particular Chapter VIII. As a regional mechanism, the European Union has established fruitful and close cooperation with the United Nations on a wide range of key areas. We support further strengthening of that cooperation.

Mr. Wittig (Germany): I would like to join my colleagues in warmly welcoming Baroness Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union.

High Representative Ashton's briefing to the Security Council comes at a good and timely moment. Recent developments in Tunisia and Egypt, both neighbours of the European Union (EU), are of immediate relevance not only to the European Union and its member States but also, ultimately, to the international community as a whole. Northern Africa and the Middle East are in a crucial phase of transition. Civil societies claim fundamental political and human rights and a new economic perspective for the future. Reforms are the only way forward. We have to adapt our policies with regard to the entire region. The European decision to grant special support to the transformation process is the right initiative to respond to Egyptian requests.

Baroness Ashton also informed us about the meeting of the Middle East Quartet in Munich, which she chaired three days ago. Our common goal is very clear: we all want to see the State of Israel and a sovereign, independent, democratic, contiguous and viable State of Palestine living side by side in peace and security.

The Munich statement, in which the Quartet highlighted the urgency of meaningful negotiations on all final status issues and their conclusion by September 2011, committed to playing an active role and scheduled the next principals' meeting for March, is an important contribution to creating much-needed momentum.

The close contacts between the High Representative and the Secretary-General over the past week is yet another indicator of the high level of cooperation between the EU and the United Nations.

Let me underline that this cooperation is built on a fundamental convergence of views. It is based on the idea that relations among States should be subject to the rule of law and founded on universal values and mutual respect. The EU believes in a multilateral, rules-based approach to world affairs. The EU itself was built by a process of negotiation and consensus among its current 27 member States, which has led to a considerable pooling of sovereignty. Germany has been part of that unique peacebuilding and institution-building exercise from the very beginning.

With a newly created External Action Service implementing the Treaty of Lisbon, the EU is about the further improve its joint diplomatic capabilities and will become an even more effective international partner for the United Nations and for other regional organizations. While holding the European Union presidency in 2007, Germany promoted the adoption of a joint declaration on United Nations-European Union cooperation in crisis management. Exchanges between senior United Nations Secretariat officials and the Political and Security Committee of the EU on areas of cooperation have since become regular practice.

By definition, the European Union firmly believes in regional cooperation. The African Union (AU) and African subregional organizations are strengthening the African Peace and Security Architecture and are working actively to settle conflicts in Africa through their peacekeeping missions and good offices. The EU supports those efforts, and not only with financial means. The African Peace Facility has helped to enhance AU peace support operations and its institution- and capacity-building.

In Somalia, just to give one example — and I could name others — the United Nations, the African Union and the European Union are closely cooperating and complementing each other in their efforts to help rebuild sound State institutions, thereby creating conditions for peace and stability, and to combat piracy off the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Through its Operation Atalanta, the EU contributes successfully to the protection of World Food Programme shipments, thereby saving the lives of many ordinary Somalis. Atalanta also plays an important role in protecting African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) transports and international shipping, which are so vital for the economies of the broader region. Furthermore, following calls from the Security Council, the European Union is conducting a programme in Uganda to train soldiers for Somalia's Transitional Federal Government. The objective of that

military training mission is to improve the security situation in Somalia. AMISOM, which receives substantial support from the European Union, has the same objective.

In conclusion, let me reiterate that my country remains committed to a strong partnership between the United Nations and the EU that builds on shared values and common goals. We welcome the Security Council's recognition of the need for closer cooperation with regional and subregional organizations in its presidential statement (S/PRST/2010/1) last year. We are confident that the cooperation between the EU and the United Nations will remain fruitful and look forward to the further deepening of that relationship.

Mr. Yang Tao (China) (*spoke in* Chinese): I welcome the briefing by Baroness Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union, on cooperation between the Union and the United Nations. China attaches great importance to cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

In January last year, an open debate on cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in maintaining international peace and security (see S/PV.6257) was held in the Council on the initiative of the Chinese presidency. The meeting issued a presidential statement (S/PRST/2010/1) reiterating the importance and the necessity of mutually reinforcing cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations.

The European Union (EU) is a major cooperation partner of the United Nations and has made positive contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security. In recent years, the EU has been actively engaged in preventive diplomacy and good offices on hot-spot issues, and has promoted the settlement of conflicts and disputes through mediation, negotiations and other peaceful means.

The EU vigorously supports United Nations peacekeeping operations and has provided substantial funding for United Nations-mandated African Union (AU) peace support operations. The EU is playing an active role in post-conflict peacebuilding efforts and has also made significant efforts in supporting the development of the AU and other African regional and subregional organizations. China appreciates the positive role of the EU in maintaining regional and international peace, stability and security. We support and encourage continued contributions from the EU in that regard.

China highly values and supports the constructive role of the EU in international affairs. We trust that, as the EU intensifies its efforts to implement the Lisbon Treaty, along with progress in the process of integration, the EU, the United Nations and the Security Council will be able to undertake even more pragmatic and effective cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. Sangqu (South Africa): South Africa would like to welcome High Representative Baroness Ashton to the Security Council and thank her for her briefing on the European Union's (EU) cooperation with the United Nations.

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in the area of peace and security is a major priority for South Africa. We welcome all efforts in that regard.

We have noted all the areas of cooperation that Baroness Ashton mentioned in her briefing today. South Africa has had an opportunity to share its positions on many of those issues. As a strategic partner of the European Union, South Africa acknowledges and welcomes the EU's significant and steadfast contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

We are of the view that multilateralism is strengthened through enhanced cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations. Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations makes provision for regional arrangements in the maintenance of international peace and security. The role of the European Union and the African Union (AU) in that regard is testimony to the foresight of the crafters of the Charter, who envisaged such a role for regional bodies.

Multilateralism will also be strengthened through enhanced cooperation among various regional organizations. In that regard, we again acknowledge and value the strong cooperative relationship between the African Union and the European Union.

Each regional organization is unique and the challenges they face in addressing international peace and security differ. Cooperation with the United

Nations should therefore take on characteristics that reflect its own priorities and comparative advantages.

The 2008 report of the African Union-United Nations panel on modalities for support to African Union peacekeeping operations, also known as the Prodi report, stated that

> "There is a need to reaffirm the collective responsibility for global peace and security in order to reflect changes that have taken place in recent years. . . . there is a growing anomalous and undesirable trend in which organizations lacking the necessary capabilities have been left to bear the brunt in terms of providing the international community's initial response, while others more capable have not engaged. This inversion of responsibility is generating a trend of benign neglect in which interests rather than capabilities prevail." *(S/2008/813, para. 11)*

The report further notes, in the following paragraph, that the complexity of recent and ongoing conflicts in which Africa has intervened to resolve creates demands that are out of all proportion to the availability of resources to address them.

We have witnessed, particularly over the past decade, that regional organizations have acted when the Security Council has been unable or unwilling to act in particular circumstances.

The African Union, for its part, has been proactive in taking the lead in conflict prevention, peacebuilding and peacekeeping in countries such as Burundi, the Sudan and Somalia. Despite the strong political will to establish peace and security throughout the African continent, the AU continues to face enormous resource constraints. In this regard, we commend the role that the European Union is playing in meeting these challenges, including through the establishment of the African Peace Facility to support peace-support operations mandated by the African Union.

Meeting in Tripoli in November 2010 on the occasion of the third Africa-EU Summit, leaders of the AU and the EU recognized the need for more concerted action between the AU, the EU and the United Nations to move the process of implementation of the recommendations of the Prodi panel and subsequent reports of the Secretary-General forward. In this regard, the Summit stressed the importance of follow-up to the Prodi report especially on attaining predictable, sustainable and flexible funding for African peace-support efforts. Africa and the EU also committed to strengthening dialogue and cooperation with the United Nations to address global threats to peace and security, both in terms of conflict areas as well as in thematic areas, such as terrorism and the protection of civilians.

South Africa will continue to promote effective multilateralism by working towards enhanced cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, including the European Union. In this regard, we look forward to working with all our partners in the Security Council to achieve this aim.

Mrs. DiCarlo (United States of America): The United States welcomes High Representative Ashton back to the Security Council. We thank Baroness Ashton for her briefing today and the European Union (EU) for its close and deep cooperation with the Security Council, which encompasses conflict prevention, crisis management, peacekeeping, post-conflict peacebuilding and long-term capacity-building.

The European Union has become an important partner for the Council in addressing matters of peace and security. Together, we are applying more effective solutions to the increasingly complex problems we face. This morning, I would like to highlight a few areas of our effective cooperation.

First, I would like to thank the European Union for its critical role in preventing and resolving conflict in the EU neighbourhood, utilizing both civilian and military operations on the ground. One example is Operation Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which the United States strongly supports. We welcome the EU's intention to strengthen its civilian presence there to better promote reforms needed for Bosnian European integration.

In Kosovo, the United States is a contribute to the EU's Rule of Law Mission and supports the High Representative's initiative to facilitate dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo to resolve practical issues, improve lives and help realize both countries' European perspectives. We likewise support the ongoing efforts of the EU, the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe as chairs of the Geneva process for Georgia, including their respective roles in facilitating the Incident

Prevention and Response Mechanism, which is tackling ongoing difficult security and humanitarian issues on the ground.

Beyond Europe, we welcome the role played by the EU as a member of the Middle East Quartet. The United States is continuing to consult with both the Israelis and Palestinians, and is working with the Quartet and our partners in the region to achieve a framework agreement on all the core issues, ultimately resulting in a negotiated peace agreement.

Further, we commend the EU's support of United Nations efforts in the Horn of Africa, where the EU is deploying naval forces through Operation Atalanta to combat piracy, and in Haiti and the Sudan. The United States welcomes the Government of the Sudan's announcement that it accepts the Southern Sudan referendum results, and looks forward to continuing our work with the EU and the broader international community to ensure that the two States live alongside each other in peace.

We also note the EU's support of a peaceful resolution to the political crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and the financial pressure it is putting on former President Gbagbo and his supporters to step aside in favour of democratically elected President Ouattara. Many challenges lie ahead, but we must maintain the unity of the international community's response as we address these challenges in Côte d'Ivoire and elsewhere.

Secondly, we would like to point out the EU's support for training and capacity-building in coordination with the United Nations and international partners. Such efforts can serve as a multiplier for the peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities undertaken by regional organizations. We appreciate the EU's initiative to share experience, through the EU African Peace Facility, to build the African Union's capacity for peace operations, as well as the training the EU is providing for Somali Government forces.

Within Afghanistan, the EU, like the United States, works closely with the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). We commend the EU's police training mission that has been operating in Afghanistan since 2007, in coordination with the NATO training mission and UNAMA. Especially important is its support for the construction of Afghan National Police staff colleges in Bamyan and Kabul in 2011. The EU's civilian assistance and the efforts of the numerous individual EU member States with personnel on the ground in Afghanistan in provincial reconstruction teams contribute to Afghanistan's long-term security.

Finally, I want to strongly applaud the European Union's commitment to the protection of women in conflict situations and the promotion of their participation in peacebuilding. The recent joint Africa-EU Strategy Action Plan underscores both organizations' commitment to this important issue.

The United States expresses its appreciation to the European Union for its commitment to international peace and security, and looks forward to further discussions between the United Nations and the EU on how to deepen cooperation and coordination.

Mr. Onemola (Nigeria): I would like to thank Baroness Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union (EU), for her insightful comments and analysis of some current global security challenges. Nigeria lauds the depth of the EU's work in regional security issues around the world. We firmly believe that vigorous action is needed to curb the threats to global security. Accordingly, we look forward to the enhanced security that the External Action Service will bring to EU missions worldwide.

Second only to natural disasters, the challenges of governance pose grave security risks to local populations. Humanitarian aid is an essential support for countries facing crises to develop robust and participatory governance institutions. In turn, political stability and properly functioning democratic institutions are prerequisites for the reconstruction and development of distressed communities. We therefore commend the EU for its work in Haiti, the Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire and elsewhere. The depth of its involvement in these countries illustrates its understanding of the relationship between security, development and humanitarian aid.

With respect to Haiti, like the EU, we support a transparent and legitimate electoral process and the implementation of the postponed second-round presidential elections. Indeed, we salute the work done by the Organization of American States verification mission to evaluate the presidential elections in Haiti. We consider this to be an important step to maintain and strengthen the confidence of the Haitian people in the electoral process.

Nigeria commends the international community, especially humanitarian actors, for the support given to Haiti in the wake of the devastating earthquake and cholera outbreak. Strengthening the capacity of the Government and national institutions to engage in the tasks of reconstruction is an overriding long-term challenge, to which we must remain fully committed.

In reviewing the Southern Sudan referendum, the commendable role played by the EU cannot be overlooked. Through financial support, monitoring activities and partnership with the Secretary-General's high-level monitoring panel, the EU contributed significantly to the outcome of the referendum. We are pleased that the EU is prepared to provide long-term support for addressing the political and economic challenges facing both Northern and Southern Sudan.

We welcome the EU's firm and clear support for the decisions in favour of democracy taken by the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union. Now more than ever, a concerted international response is required to overcome the crisis situation in Côte d'Ivoire. EU support therefore remains very necessary.

We also welcome the important role the EU continues to play in efforts to find a lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. Its commitment expressed at the 5 February Quartet meeting in Munich, Germany, to set up an engagement in the peace process is commendable. It is hoped that the next meeting, scheduled to take place on the margins of the Group of Eight Foreign Ministers' meeting, will add impetus to this process.

On partnership in general, the vitality of the partnership between the EU and the African Union is evident, not only in the work of the EU in the Sudan, but also in Operation Atalanta, a multilateral task force off the coast of Somalia. These efforts reveal that partnerships are an effective means of employing global resources to combat regional security risks. We therefore call for sustained dialogue between the EU and African regional and subregional organizations, and enhanced support for regional peace and security architecture, post-conflict strategies and peacebuilding efforts.

In closing, Nigeria shares the conviction that, if it is to respond successfully to global crises, challenges and threats, the international community needs an efficient multilateral system founded on universal rights and values. Through partnerships, humanitarian aid and financial support, the EU has demonstrated the impact that multilateral partnerships can have on our collective search for lasting peace.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): I would like to join other colleagues in warmly welcoming Baroness Ashton back to the Security Council today.

As a member of the European Union (EU) and a permanent member of the Security Council, the United Kingdom has a strong interest in ensuring that the partnership of the European Union and its member States with the United Nations becomes increasingly effective in addressing the many challenges to international peace and security. Baroness Ashton has highlighted today the important role that the European Union plays across a range of key security issues. I do not need to cover that same ground, so I will confine myself to making a few general comments.

First, Baroness Ashton rightly pointed to the European Union's ability to take a comprehensive approach to global problems. The European Union is uniquely placed among regional organizations to deploy the full range of tools, from military intervention and political influence to humanitarian and development assistance. The European Union and its member States can therefore support and complement the United Nations across that full range of activity, from Afghanistan to the Balkans. In particular, the European Union and the United Nations can combine powerfully with the Security Council to prevent and resolve conflict.

The current period of uncertainty and change in the Middle East and North Africa highlights the need for a comprehensive and coordinated approach. It is essential that the European Union and the United Nations work closely in responding to and planning for events as they unfold.

In Tunisia, the European Union is already working on a broad package to assist with constitutional and democratic reforms and economic development. My Foreign Minister is in Tunisia today, discussing how best we can support the reform process. The United Nations and the EU should be natural partners in this endeavour.

On the Middle East peace process, where decisive progress is urgently needed, the European Union has

demonstrated the practical application of the comprehensive approach, in close coordination with the United Nations. As a member of the Quartet, the European Union has been involved in pressing for a political solution to the conflict, while at the same time providing critical assistance to the Palestinian Authority's State-building programme, which will continue to provide the foundations of a future and viable Palestinian State.

Secondly, the European Union has an important role to play in sharing its experience and its expertise with other regional organizations. EU/United Nations/African Union collaboration in Somalia is a concrete example of what can be achieved when regional organizations and the United Nations work together. The European Union is complementing the broad support of the United Nations to the African Union Mission in Somalia by providing funding through the African Peace Facility. This is just part of a multi-level EU strategy towards Somalia, which encompasses regular assistance to the security sector through development programmes and projects, humanitarian assistance, naval security operations and security training. As we approach the end of the transitional period in August 2011, it is vital that the African Union, the United Nations and the EU pursue a coherent strategy to ensure that the transition results in a legitimate, credible Government that is acceptable to all the Somali people.

Thirdly, the European Union, as the world's largest economy comprising the most open and trade-oriented countries in the world, can be a force for development by providing a huge potential market. Open and resilient markets play a key role in maintaining global peace and security.

Finally, the European Union has an important role to play in advancing non-traditional contributions to international peace and security. One such example is in the area of climate security. Climate security is likely to feature on the Council's agenda later this year, reflecting the growing recognition that climate change is a powerful amplifier of instability across some of the most volatile regions in the world. We hope that the European Union can take forward work on climate security as a key policy priority, in close collaboration with the United Nations.

The Security Council's primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security requires us to set the strategic direction for cooperation with regional bodies. These relationships will be of vital importance in the years ahead. There is more that we can do together, particularly in areas such as preventive diplomacy and peacebuilding. We look forward to a strengthened partnership between the United Nations and the EU, built on shared values and with a strong commitment to action to support these values.

Mr. Salam (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): First of all, I would like to welcome Baroness Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union, and thank her for her invaluable statement.

Over 50 years ago, those who drafted the United Nations Charter dedicated an entire Chapter of that document, namely, Chapter VIII, to regional organizations because they believed in the complementary role played by such organizations alongside the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security.

Today, the international environment is especially dynamic, particularly in the light of multilateral diplomacy, the great openness of States, the emergence of geographic blocs, and new, complex and diverse challenges. In this environment, some regional organizations, including the European Union, have been able to consolidate their positions as active partners in the many activities of the United Nations, the most important of which is the maintenance of international peace. This success is due to the fact that these organizations' principles are in line with those of the United Nations and its objectives to promote peace and security, ensure respect for human rights, and establish the rule of law.

Lebanon welcomes the ongoing efforts, both past and current, of the European Union to preserve and build peace. We also commend its operational work and its achievements in the civilian sphere, including its overt cooperation aimed at resolving a great number of conflicts around the world. The European Union provides the United Nations with the means to accomplish its work, in particular in Africa and Haiti.

Lebanon urges the European Union, which has enhanced its role on the international scene following the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, to prioritize its foreign policy in order to achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East and to put an end to violations of international law and

international humanitarian law. This is all the more important given the European Union's key position in the international Quartet.

Lebanon believes that the mere occasional condemnation of certain Israeli practices is insufficient. Indeed, such condemnation has not prevented Israel from ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. We recall here that Israeli practices contravene the very principles of the European Union, such as the rejection of violence and racism, the establishment of the rule of law, and respect for basic human rights and international humanitarian law, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention. That Convention prohibits collective punishment, such as that meted out in Gaza, and the transfer of settlers to occupied territories, such as continues to occur in the West Bank today.

It is high time for all parties that seek a two-State solution to recognize the Palestinian State, with East Jerusalem as its capital, and to support it in bringing an end to the occupation of all Palestinian territories. The new Palestinian State should be a Member of the United Nations, and could be before the next session of the General Assembly begins in September.

Lebanon also encourages the promotion of cooperation between the European Union and other regional organizations in the exchange of expertise, information and lessons learned in terms of human resources, training and capacity-building, in particular with the League of Arab States and the African Union. That could help to maintain peace and security in the Arab world and Africa. Regional organizations can play an effective role in preventing conflicts and facilitating post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction.

In conclusion, Lebanon encourages greater cooperation between regional organizations and the United Nations in order to achieve a safer and more stable world.

Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri (India): Like others, I should like to extend a warm welcome to High Representative Baroness Ashton and to thank her for her comprehensive briefing on the role of the European Union (EU) in the United Nations and its views on some contemporary issues that are on the Security Council's agenda. Clearly, given the limitations of time, the wide canvas that the High Representative has covered will prevent me from commenting on each of the issues that are currently before the Council and on which my delegation's views are, in any case, reasonably well known.

The EU is the largest economy in the world in terms of nominal gross domestic product. It is one of the largest trading blocs; the largest exporter and importer of goods and services; and the largest trading partner of the leading economies of the world, including India. It is also one of the biggest development aid donors and the largest provider of humanitarian assistance. With a membership of 27 countries and five candidate countries, the EU is already an important voice in its region and beyond. With the greater cohesiveness that the EU seeks in foreign affairs and security policy, its role will only become more significant in the world in the coming years.

India therefore welcomes stronger cooperation between the United Nations and the European Union. Indeed, Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter provides for such cooperation between the Organization and regional organizations. Article 54 of the Charter enjoins the regional organizations to keep the Security Council fully informed of their activities for the maintenance of international peace and security. In that spirit, we welcome today's briefing and congratulate the European Union on its contributions to global peace and security, in cooperation with the United Nations. With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, India hopes that the European Union's foreign policy will show greater coherence and effectiveness under the leadership of High Representative Baroness Ashton.

India's bilateral relations with the EU have expanded significantly over the years. The EU is India's largest trading partner, while India is the EU's ninth largest trading partner. The relationship was elevated to a strategic partnership in 2000. The most recent summit-level meeting between India and the EU — the eleventh since 2000 — took place in Brussels on 10 December 2010. The summit reviewed a whole spectrum of bilateral, regional and global issues, and the leaders committed themselves to giving new momentum to the key areas that already constitute the bulk of our cooperation. There was also agreement on the need to step up cooperation in the fight against international terrorism, as reflected in the India-EU joint declaration on international terrorism.

Given this strong bilateral partnership, we look forward to the EU emerging as an even more important voice in today's multipolar world, and attach great value to the EU's activities in the United Nations and its role in preventive diplomacy. We support the EU's contributions to capacity- and institution-building in African States and its support in the training of police and security forces, electoral assistance, legislative and judicial reform, and so on, which have all contributed to international peace and security. India has also made contributions in these areas and cooperated with the EU and other countries in anti-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia. We look forward to the further deepening of such cooperation.

India supports the EU's aspirations to playing a more significant role in the General Assembly. In this context, we welcome the ongoing consultations among Member States, and hope that a consensus will emerge very soon.

Mr. Moungara Moussotsi (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): My delegation associates itself with previous speakers in thanking you, Madame, on convening this meeting on cooperation between the European Union and the United Nations.

Having heard the briefing of Baroness Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union, whom I welcome, my delegation wishes once again to stress the very important role of the European Union in achieving the objectives of the United Nations, in particular with regard to international peace and security. In her briefing, Baroness Ashton highlighted a number of issues of topical interest in the field of peace and security. I wish to address four of those issues: the Sudan, Haiti, the Middle East — in particular the question of Palestine — and Somalia.

Turning first to the Sudan, I congratulate the countries of the European Union on their assistance to United Nations efforts to restore peace and stability in that country through their contribution to the work of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan and to the successful holding of the referendum on Southern Sudan. We remain convinced that the establishment of the new State of Southern Sudan will enjoy the significant support of the European Union in meeting the many challenges ahead.

Turning to Haiti, we commend the European Union's support of the Haitian Government, especially with regard to its efforts following the earthquake of January 2010. We are confident that it will pursue its efforts to help that country to rebuild itself economically and to strengthen its institutions.

With regard to the Middle East, and more specifically the Palestinian question, we commend the European Union's involvement, in the framework of the Quartet, in relaunching direct Palestinian-Israeli talks to find a lasting negotiated solution to a conflict that has persisted too long. The recent meeting held in Munich, over which Baroness Ashton personally presided, clearly demonstrates the consistent commitment of the European Union to peace in the Middle East and to the creation of a Palestinian State, which we, too, call for wholeheartedly. I am delighted by the similar views of the European Union and Gabon on that issue. We call on the European Union also to continue its support to the Palestinian Authority.

I cannot fail to mention the European Union's efforts in Somalia, specifically with regard to increasing the capacity of the African Union Mission and of Somali security and defence forces. We also share the European Union's views with regard to addressing the issue of piracy off the Somali coast, namely, that the approach to settling this issue must take into account the general situation prevailing on the ground.

In conclusion, Gabon would once again like to welcome the role of the European Union in the work of the United Nations in its pursuit of peace, justice and well-being in the world.

Mr. Osorio (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Like my colleagues, I too would like to thank Baroness Ashton for her presence and her very important statement today.

The review that we are undertaking reflects one of the main mandates of the United Nations Charter, which calls on us to prevent conflict and achieve international peace and security while serving as a forum for coordinating efforts to attain those common goals through political dialogue and cooperation. That not only strengthens the effectiveness of multilateralism; it also provides an opportunity for creating models applicable to other areas of the world.

The United Nations and the European Union have the task of raising awareness about the consequences of transnational organized crime, both in the various

relevant forums of the United Nations and in Member States. That is why there is a need for the Organization's contribution in the areas of civilian, customs and port and airport security.

With regard to development cooperation as an effective means of conflict prevention and peacebuilding, we underscore the importance of the assistance provided by the European Union as an appropriate part of the social development process of recipient countries in the context of their national priorities. In cases of natural disasters, for example, in order to prevent the displacement of populations, an increase in refugees or migration without sufficient guidance and information, we believe that cooperation must focus on reconstruction, the financing of projects, the rehabilitation of affected farmland and the restoration of infrastructure in the worst affected areas. The Baroness also mentioned in her statement the current impact of climate change and its consequences on such important issues as natural disasters, which compromises the safety of the civilian population and makes the emergence of conflicts much more likely.

We value the contribution of the European Union and the members of the Quartet in seeking lasting peace in the Middle East. For Colombia, all approaches towards achieving and strengthening peace in the region must be governed by the fundamental principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the obligation on the non-use of force and the free self-determination of peoples. Furthermore, they must be in accordance with due observance of human rights and international humanitarian law and, of course, respect for the dignity of all. Historically, Colombia has maintained that the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict must lie in the existence of two States living together in peace, which are essential conditions to achieving the stability and security of the region.

The political conditions and the aspirations to strengthen democratic progress in the Arab world dominate the world stage today. Those processes will be strengthened only to the extent that they develop and conclude peacefully. The current outlook requires even further efforts to achieve peace.

Today, we are very pleased to note the developments in the Sudan. With the conclusion of the referendum, the Southern Sudan has taken an important step towards achieving a peace that we hope will be stable and lasting. That requires the full implementation of the provisions of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The birth of a new State now presents a very delicate process. The establishment of a road map for good relations and mutual respect between the North and the South is essential in all areas — political, economic and social. We should consider the support to be provided by the Security Council in the implementation of the agreements between the parties and the prospects opening up in the immediate future. The potential for conflict remains as long as there are no specific agreements on the status and administration of this area.

My country and all Latin American nations attach the highest priority to the situation and future of Haiti. It is essential to maintain close coordination to promote cooperation policies aimed at the country's comprehensive development as an imperative, given the sad and desolate reality of that nation. Strengthening its State structures, social cohesion and physical reconstruction go hand in hand with its internal security, well-being and development. Investing in development is an investment in peace and security.

We have said, and we reiterate, that the case of Côte d'Ivoire requires finding a prompt and appropriate course for the country, along with the appropriate regional bodies and efforts and in line with the legitimacy and expressed will of its people to exercise democracy. The work that can be done among the United Nations, regional organizations and the European Union will ensure peace in that country.

We highlight the central role that institution-building plays in efforts to promote peace in countries emerging from conflict situations. In that context, we reaffirm the primary responsibility and leadership of affected States. The international community, and the United Nations in particular, can play a supporting role in the priorities and agendas set by States concerned.

In conclusion, I would like to say that we believe it necessary to promote institutional development on the basis of the existing capacities of a State and its social, economic and cultural specificities, as well as to better coordinate the activities of all stakeholders involved.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Brazil.

It is a great pleasure for me to again welcome Baroness Ashton to the Security Council. Brazil fully appreciates the valuable contributions that regional organizations can and do make to an enhanced multilateral system with the United Nations as its centre. The High Representative has addressed the many and varied manifestations of a very active and ongoing partnership with the United Nations in areas and activities of common interest. Those range from conflict prevention, conflict resolution, crisis management and humanitarian assistance to peacebuilding and long-term stabilization and development.

Brazil appreciates the role that the European Union plays in bringing about a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian issue, which is long overdue. We hope that the peace process can soon resume and move forward quickly so that the international community will swiftly achieve our common goal of two States living side by side in peace and stability. Brazil also recognizes the concrete contributions of the European Union to peacebuilding around the world, from the Sudan to Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Haiti.

A situation of special interest to Brazil is that of Haiti. We hope that the electoral process can soon be concluded with credibility and full respect for the will of the people, so that Haitians can focus again on the much-needed activities of reconstruction and promoting sustainable development.

Another situation of specific interest to Brazil is that of Guinea-Bissau. We welcome the continued engagement of the African Union in our common efforts to bring sustainable peace to Guinea-Bissau. We believe that the country needs such engagement to build democratic governance and to effectively address its key challenges of stability, reconciliation, fighting impunity and combating drug trafficking. In the same vein, we encourage the European Union to continue investing in local capacity-building and social and economic development in fragile and conflict-affected countries.

Brazil strongly believes that the interlinkages between peace, security and development must be properly acknowledged as the Security Council discharges its responsibilities. We welcome the EU's participation in and support for the high-level debate that Brazil has proposed on that very important issue, which will be held this Friday.

As we have been able to note at this meeting, cooperation between the United Nations and the European Union is strong and effective. It is our hope that the changes brought about by the Treaty of Lisbon will help to further strengthen that important partnership.

In our own region, through the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), we are consolidating a genuine zone of peace and prosperity. By promoting dialogue and understanding among South American countries, UNASUR is making its own contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I give the floor to Baroness Ashton to make some concluding remarks.

Baroness Ashton: I will be very brief. I would just like to thank all members of the Security Council for their contributions to this debate and for their encouragement and support of the role of the European Union.

As I began, I said that I saw this as a critical partnership and that the European Union would do everything it could to support the work of the United Nations. I very much look forward to the post-Lisbon Treaty building of the European External Action Service, which will enable us to do that even more effectively.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6478

Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

Provisional

6478th meeting

Wednesday, 9 February 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Viotti	(Brazil)
Members:	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Araud
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	Germany	Mr. Wittig
	India	Mr. Manjeev Singh Puri
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Nigeria	Mrs. Ogwu
	Portugal	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

11-22913 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

The President: Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I should like to invite the representative of the Sudan to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Haile Menkerios, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, and His Excellency Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, Chair of the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan. I wish to acknowledge the presence in the Council Chamber of Mr. Antonio Monteiro and Mr. Bhojraj Pokharel, the two other members of the Panel.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Mahmoud Kane, head of the African Union Liaison Office in the Sudan, who will read a statement via videolink from Khartoum on behalf of His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Chairperson of the African Union High-level Implementation Panel on the Sudan.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I also invite Mr. Deng Alor Kuol, Minister of Regional Cooperation of the Government of Southern Sudan.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I now give the floor to Mr. Haile Menkerios.

Mr. Menkerios: The day before yesterday, on 7 February, the final results of the Southern Sudan self-determination referendum were officially announced by the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission. Out of almost 4 million Southern Sudanese registered, 97.58 per cent voted in a process that has been unanimously described by all observers — national, regional and international, and the Panel of the Secretary-General included — as free, fair and credible. An overwhelming majority of voters — that, is 98.83 per cent — voted for secession.

On the day of the announcement of these results by the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission, President Omar Al-Bashir signed a decree confirming his Government's acceptance of these results as the legitimate expression of the will of the people of Southern Sudan, this confirming the Government of the Sudan's readiness to recognize the formation of an independent South Sudan at the end of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) period on 9 July 2011. In my most recent briefing to the Council (see S/PV.6468), I reiterated the role played by President Al-Bashir, who, one week before the referendum, made a historic visit to Juba, which completely changed the atmosphere and contributed to making the referendum process very peaceful and orderly.

I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize the historical significance of these events. Against the odds, not only did the national Government of the Sudan contribute to the successful holding of the Southern Sudan self-determination referendum, but President Al-Bashir and the National Congress Party have now formally recognized the validity and legitimacy of its outcome. In doing so, they have most likely ended, once and for all, one of Africa's most protracted and deadliest conflicts. Indeed, 7 February 2011 will have to be remembered and celebrated in the Sudan's and Africa's history as a day when the longest running civil war in the continent's recent history came to a definitive end, when the spirit of peace and cooperation prevailed over the spirit of war.

This same spirit has also helped the CPA parties to make significant progress, in negotiations facilitated by the African Union High-level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) chaired by President Mbeki, on a wide range of post-referendum arrangements between their two States. I applaud the leadership shown by Presidents Mbeki, Buyoya and Abu-Bakr for their stewardship of this important process.

Much of the groundwork has already been completed. Both parties are engaging seriously and making progress. A number of principles have been agreed with respect to open borders, good-neighbourly relations, non-interference in the affairs of the other and recognition of economic interdependence. In the area of security, the two parties have now defined a broad framework for non-aggression and military cooperation, and have decided to establish joint mechanisms to manage their security relations, including at their common border.

The parties have also agreed on the broad outline of citizenship arrangements, including rights of travel, residency, property ownership and employment, as well as protection against forced deportation or relocation for each other's citizens. In the economic and oil cluster, the parties are working towards mutually beneficial arrangements on oil revenue-sharing and a range of bilateral economic relations. I hope that the good will generated by the referendum will translate into increased momentum and the finalization soon of an agreement between the two CPA partners on all these and other post-referendum arrangements.

I would also like to commend the parties for their efforts to prevent and contain violence in Abyei, including the agreements reached in Kadugli on 1 and 17 January, and their recent commitment to resolving Abyei's status by the end of March. Both President Bashir and First Vice-President Kiir have reiterated their intent to address the local communities' concerns and facilitate a peaceful migration, while opposing any unilateral action in Abyei. At the parties' request, the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) facilitated the transport of nearly 1,280 additional joint integrated unit troops to an assembly point within the Abyei Area, and the Joint Defense Board has agreed on locations for their final deployment. I was told this morning, shortly before I came to the Security Council, that the deployment of those troops to their various locations started yesterday.

As soon as the joint integrated units are fully deployed to their designated posts in the Area, the Abyei Administration has agreed to withdraw the controversial Abyei police units from the field into Abyei town, thus allowing the seasonal Misseriya migration to commence, and the Misseriya have agreed to remove roadblocks currently preventing traffic from entering southern Abyei from the North.

Serious challenges remain, however. For the moment, those roadblocks continue to choke off the flow of food and other supplies into Abyei town. Despite the tireless efforts of UNMIS to support improved inter-tribal relations, tensions in the area continue. Given the delicacy of the current environment, I urge the parties to redouble their efforts to keep the peace on the ground, while taking advantage of the political momentum they have built in other areas to conclusively address the deeper issues driving the conflict in Abyei.

While incidents that took place in Abyei and Unity and Western Equatoria states cannot be downplayed, the security environment in the UNMIS area of operation was generally good during the referendum period. In Southern Sudan, progress is continuing on the integration of the forces which had rebelled against the Government of Southern Sudan following the April 2010 elections, and which had subsequently been granted amnesty. The fighting that occurred between members of the Sudanese Armed Forces joint integrated units between 3 and 5 February in Malakal and its vicinity, which caused up to 50 casualties among those units and civilians, was a reminder, however, of how fragile the security situation in Southern Sudan remains. It was easily destabilized by the attempt for a rushed dissolution of the joint integrated units, and I would like to urge the parties to remain cautious, to continue working together and, where appropriate, to utilize UNMIS in implementing decisions related to the termination of joint CPA institutions, such as the dissolution of the joint integrated units.

I would also like to welcome the conclusion of the popular consultation hearings in Blue Nile state. Issues such as power- and wealth-sharing, the future of Sudan People's Liberation Army members from the North, land allocation and cultural identity have been raised during the consultations and will need to be on the agenda of the discussions with the national Government. Popular consultations in Southern Kordofan are now expected to commence after the elections scheduled for May. Voter registration in Southern Kordofan started on 24 January and is expected to last three weeks.

I mentioned in my last briefing that the impact of the popular consultation process will be limited unless it is matched by an accommodating national dispensation. It is significant to note that since that time, the National Congress Party has promised not only to widen the base of the national Government, but also to start broad consultations over the future constitution of Northern Sudan. While the Northern opposition is asking to discuss the basis on which this broadening would unfold, such a political opening is definitely welcome, and UNMIS stands ready to support, in collusion with partners — particularly the AUHIP, which has the mandate to facilitate such a process — any political process that would permit the consolidation of the democratic gains made during the

CPA, which are essential to the continued stability of Northern Sudan.

The process for considering the United Nations future presence and possible role in Northern and Southern Sudan, and between the North and the South, has now started. For the South, the Government of Southern Sudan has indicated that it would welcome United Nations engagement in support of peace consolidation, capacity-building of the new State's institutions, and border management. A technical assessment of those needs will start very shortly this month. For the North, we are currently discussing with the authorities the areas in which they seek future United Nations cooperation. Possible United Nations or other third-party engagement in the implementation of post-referendum arrangements that the two States may agree upon — such as Abyei, the border, et cetera — are on the agenda of the current ongoing talks between the two parties. We shall keep the Council regularly informed of the decisions made by the parties on those issues.

The Sudan has given us an example of how the spirit of peace can overcome decades of war. The National Congress Party and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and their leaders — President Omer Hassan Al-Bashir and Salva Kiir Mayardit — deserve to be commended for that achievement, which will need to be built upon. Both North and South must now strive to consolidate peace and deliver on their promises to their people — promises to ensure effective and accountable democratic governance, to drive economic development and provide social services, to nurture their social and cultural diversity, to protect sustainably democratic rights and freedoms and to cooperate closely as neighbours in the pursuit of all those goals. In a sense, their work has only just begun, as has the work to effectively support them.

I encourage both Northern and Southern Sudanese leaders to maintain the spirit generated by the successful conclusion of the referendum in tackling the tasks ahead. This is a new and historic moment for the Sudan, a new dawn that, if built upon, can lead to sustainable peace and progress in the Sudan and contribute to the same in the immediate region and throughout the continent.

The President: I thank Mr. Menkerios for his briefing.

I now give the floor to His Excellency President Benjamin Mkapa, Chair of the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan.

Mr. Mkapa: Thank you, Madam President, for the opportunity to address the Council on the Southern Sudan referendum process.

We just returned from Khartoum, where the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission declared the final result of the Southern Sudan referendum on self-determination. Almost 99 per cent of voters opted for the South's secession.

The referendum was a major milestone on the road to lasting peace in the Sudan charted by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, signed by the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in 2005. The two parties wrote to the Secretary-General in July last year, asking that the United Nations provide the main monitoring mission for the referendum in Southern Sudan. In September, the Secretary-General established our three-member Panel to monitor and assess the referendum process for both Southern Sudan and the Abyei Area.

We were privileged to be asked to carry out that task at a historic juncture in the history of the Sudan. We undertook five visits to the country and we established a support office, with field offices across the country. The Panel concludes that the referendum's outcome reflects the will of the people of Southern Sudan and that the referendum process was free, fair and credible. We congratulate the people of the Sudan for their commitment, dignity and patience, which ensured that the process was peaceful and on schedule.

The last time the Panel briefed the Council (see S/PV.6468), voting had just ended and the aggregation of results in the North, South and out-of-country voting locations had started. The Panel and its staff monitored the counting and transmission of sensitive material throughout the country, and also out-of-country. The Southern Sudan Referendum Commission and Bureau announced preliminary results in accordance with the publicized timeline. The Supreme Court confirmed that it had not received any appeals challenging the result.

The Panel assessed the referendum process based on criteria stipulated in the Southern Sudan Referendum Act. Those include an appropriate environment and security conditions for the free exercise of the right to self-determination; freedom of

expression; the presence and participation of domestic and international observers; freedom of assembly and movement and voter education about the process.

The Panel is of the view that the referendum process was conducted in a highly transparent manner. Civil society organizations participated extensively. Public statements by senior Government officials in the North and South were increasingly encouraging and freely transmitted through the media.

There were some problems. Lack of progress on post-referendum arrangements meant that voters made their decision in a situation of political uncertainty, and voter education programmes were sometimes lacking. A number of security incidents, not directly related to the referendum, took place during the registration and voting periods. There were a few instances of intimidation of registrants, journalists and political and human rights activists. However, those were isolated incidents. In the view of the Panel, none of them materially affected the credibility of the process.

The Panel commends the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission, its Bureau and all referendum staff for overcoming numerous challenges to administer the referendum successfully. We also commend the United Nations Mission in the Sudan, the United Nations Integrated Referendum and Electoral Division and other international electoral advisers, national and international observer groups and donors for their assistance in achieving that goal.

The Panel recognizes and commends the decisive role of President Omer Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Salva Kiir Mayardit. They demonstrated courage and political commitment to ensure that a key milestone in the peace process was reached.

The parties' work is not over. We call on the parties to the Peace Agreement to utilize the momentum created by the successful completion of the referendum to reach a lasting agreement on post-referendum arrangements, so that the peoples of Northern and Southern Sudan can live together side by side in cooperation, security and dignity. The Panel also stresses the continuing importance of the protection of all Sudanese citizens, both Northerners and Southerners.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement stipulated that the Abyei Area referendum should be held simultaneously with the Southern Sudan referendum. The Panel regrets that this did not take place. The Abyei Area referendum commission has yet to be established, and no agreement has been reached on who would be eligible to vote. Deadly clashes took place in the Area, further complicating the situation. The Panel urges the two parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to seek a speedy and lasting solution on Abyei. We call on the people of the Area to display patience and tolerance until an equitable solution is found.

The referendum is not an end in itself. If implemented, this would herald a new political dispensation for the North and the South. For that reason, we urge the international community to continue its political engagement, redouble its efforts to assist the Sudan in the coming months and assist the new entities that emerge in the post-interim period. It is only with that kind of active engagement that this dispensation can be a sustainable one.

The President: I thank President Mkapa for his briefing.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Ambassador Mahmoud Kane, Head of the African Union Liaison Office in the Sudan.

Mr. Kane: His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Chairman of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel on the Sudan, would have loved to address today this important meeting of the Security Council. Unfortunately, this morning he had to travel to Ghana for a previously arranged engagement. He has requested me to deliver, on his behalf, the following remarks, which I am humbly pleased to do.

> "The African Union (AU) High-level Implementation Panel on the Sudan would like to thank the Council for giving us the opportunity to address it once again. Its meeting today provides an opportunity for all of us once more to commend and congratulate the people of the Sudan on the success of the Southern Sudan referendum.
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> "Our Panel had the privilege to observe first hand the people of Southern Sudan as they cast their votes. Given the historic significance of the referendum, it was of the utmost importance that it be conducted in a credible and peaceful manner. Our own observations, which coincide with those of the Secretary-General's Panel on

the Referenda in the Sudan, led by President Benjamin Mkapa and other national and international observers, are that, indeed, the referendum met all the criteria of legitimacy, leaving no room for a challenge to its outcome.

"Happily, because of that, the Government of the Sudan has duly accepted the result. With the referendum, the people of Northern and Southern Sudan have decisively put their history of animosity and conflict behind them. We are confident that they will never return to war. In that regard, we once again commend and congratulate the people of the Sudan, their political parties and their leaders, including President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Salva Kiir Mayardit in particular, for their courage, steadfastness and unwavering commitment to peace.

"We also reiterate our commendation of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission, the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haile Menkerios for everything that they did to ensure the success of the referendum. We must also thank the rest of the international community for the resources that it made available to help finance the referendum.

"Ten days ago, the meeting of the African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, unanimously adopted a solemn declaration on the Sudan. It included the following words:

> 'Sudan has the utmost importance to the African continent. It spans the diversity of our continent, bringing our peoples together in a great melting pot. The achievement of peace, democracy and development in northern and southern Sudan promises to help lift the entire continent. Sudan's ability to overcome the formidable obstacles in its path stands as a testament to Africa's capacity to resolve its conflicts and achieve our common goals. Conversely, Africa cannot afford to see Sudan again plunge into turmoil...
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> 'We express Africa's solidarity with the entire Sudanese people, and welcome equally North and South Sudan and the emerging post-referendum situation, as building blocks for the ongoing project of African integration. Having achieved peace, the Sudanese people are now able fully to participate as effective actors and beneficiaries in the common African endeavour of shared prosperity and continental unity.'

"As part of Africa's commitment to assisting the Sudanese people to achieve those goals in the months ahead, our Panel will continue to facilitate the negotiations to finalize the outstanding issues in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Those include Abyei, the demarcation of the North-South border, the resolution of disputed areas along that border, and the completion of the popular consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. In all those matters, we work in exemplary partnership with UNMIS and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haile Menkerios.

"We also continue to facilitate the negotiations between the parties on post-referendum arrangements, which include issues of economic cooperation, the relief of the country's onerous and unsupportable debt, security, citizenship and people-to-people relations within the context of two viable and mutually supportive States. We are happy to inform the Council that the Sudanese parties have made significant progress towards a final agreement on these matters.

"The Council will recall that, in December 2009, we spoke in this Chamber (see S/PV.6251) and informed the Council that the report and recommendations of the AU High-Level Panel on Darfur had been adopted by the African Union Peace and Security Council on 29 October 2009. One of the most important of these recommendations, which became African Union policy for the resolution of the conflict in Darfur, was that only an inclusive process of negotiations in which all Darfur constituencies would be able to participate would produce the necessary comprehensive and lasting agreement. This reflected very directly the demand presented to us by the various Darfur constituencies.

"The people of Darfur continue to demand an inclusive political process that will allow them to determine their own future, including through negotiations with the Government of the Sudan. Indeed, in successive meetings of the Sudan Consultative Forum in May, July and November 2010, the African Union, the United Nations and other international partners endorsed this approach, without dissent. Accordingly, to implement a decision taken by the African Union together with the people of Darfur 15 months ago, we will soon begin the political process, working with the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), which will lead to the holding of an inclusive conference of Darfurians, who will then engage the Government of the Sudan. In this regard, we will fully take on board the outcomes of the Doha peace negotiations.

"Furthermore, in this context, our Panel and UNAMID have agreed and are working with the Government of the Sudan to establish the required environment for the success of the Darfur political process, as happened when we engaged the people of Darfur as we prepared our report and recommendations in 2009. Together with Joint Special Representative Ibrahim Gambari, we are determined to do our best to ensure that a Darfur global political agreement is concluded before the end of the CPA interim period on July 9. This is vitally important in terms of the future of Northern Sudan, and indeed of both States which will emerge in five months after the secession of the South.

"Throughout the CPA period, President Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Kiir have demonstrated their personal and political courage, statesmanship and good faith. We have every confidence that they and their respective Governments, and the Sudanese people as a whole, will continue to do everything necessary to address the various challenges which confront the Sudan. In this context, we are pleased to reassure the Council that these leaders and their colleagues are fully conscious of and sensitive to the challenges they face, enjoying greater familiarity with the Sudan than we non-Sudanese could ever have. Accordingly, our task is to assist them to the best of our ability as they confront these challenges. We are very pleased with the cooperation they have extended to us in this regard.

"We trust that the Council will also continue to extend its invaluable assistance to the Sudanese people as they take their country through the momentous few months ahead of us. In addition, we are very pleased that Africa stands ready to assist the two African States that will emerge after 9 July as they confront the even greater challenges of nation-building than those they face today.

"We further trust that the Security Council will use its influence to also encourage the rest of the international community to continue to extend its support to the peoples of Northern and Southern Sudan in order to assist them in establishing two viable States."

The President: I thank Ambassador Kane for his statement on behalf of President Mbeki.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Sudan.

Mr. Osman (Sudan): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, Mr. Ali Karti, who was supposed to be at our meeting this morning, conveys his regards to the Security Council. Minister Karti could not be here owing to a problem with his flight. I will deliver a statement on his behalf.

(*spoke in Arabic*)

"At the outset, I would to extend our warmest congratulations to our brothers in Southern Sudan. With all pride, I would like to state that the Sudanese leadership and people yesterday set a wonderful example in fulfilling our covenants when our leadership, represented by our President, fulfilled our promises in accepting the outcome of the referendum. This was in implementation of the words of God, "Thou shalt fulfil every covenant. Verily! The covenant will be questioned about". (*The Holy Koran, XVII*: 34)

"Keeping the promise by the Sudanese leadership on such a strategic question — fulfilling the covenant — demonstrates the highest degree of nobility, as President Omer Al-Bashir has said. Should fulfilling that promise not be

rewarded by the Security Council and all members of the international community? Should that not be reciprocated by a new vision rewarding the keeping of the promise, a new vision that would reconsider the position vis-à-vis the hero of peace? That hero is President Al-Bashir, as he has been described by the leader Salva Kiir, the First Vice-President of the Republic and President of the Government of the South. I am confident that the Council will do so, and thereby will have encouraged the pursuit of security, peace and stability, which are the noblest tasks of the Council.

"Yesterday, all members of the Council followed the outcome of the referendum on the self-determination of Southern Sudan. This was one of the most important and precious elements of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. It was the dowry of the self-determination of the South. In other words, it was the unity of the Sudan, which was sacrificed as the price of peace and stability and out of respect for the desire of our brothers in Southern Sudan. They have exercised their right to self-determination, in consonance with the Agreement.

"As the Council is aware, the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission announced the outcome of the referendum on the morning of the date that was specified, that of Monday, 7 February. There was an official celebration, witnessed by our President, Mr. Omer Hassan Ahmed Al-Bashir, who was the first to bless the outcome. That outcome reflected clear support for the option of secession, with 98.8 per cent of the votes in favour.

"The Chair of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission has submitted the outcome to the President, his First Vice-President, Mr. Salva Kiir Mayardit, and the other Vice-President, Mr. Ali Osman Taha. It was subsequently ratified by the Cabinet in an emergency session. The President, on behalf of the Government of the Sudan, welcomed the outcome and reiterated that the Sudan was anxious to develop brotherly and sisterly relations with the South on the basis of integration, cooperation and a peaceful and stable coexistence that would fulfil the aspirations of the South and the North alike.

"The President also stated that the North would extend help and assistance to the South in establishing the nascent country. He specified that it would help with training and the extension of capacity-building in all areas. He added that building the capacity of the South would also enhance the capacity of the North. He affirmed that the spirit that prevailed in dealing with the referendum would also lead to a resolution of all issues still outstanding between the two parties.

"For the past five years, we have reiterated to the Council that we would continue to fulfil all of our commitments under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, including the referendum on the self-determination of Southern Sudan. Today, we announce here that we have fulfilled our promise completely. We have done so in the belief that unity cannot be imposed on the people and that peace is the primary option. Peace should take precedence over the option of unity, as long as it is the desire of our brothers in the South.

"It is in that spirit and with the same commitment that I reaffirm to the Council that the secession by the Sudanese South in no way means that we would establish a geographic wall that would separate the North and the South, or sever the links and relations between the North and the South.

"Entirely to the contrary, this means only a new beginning for a new stage of close cooperation and work between the North and the South. That cooperation would reflect the linkage of interests and the reciprocal needs of both parties.

"From this rostrum, I would like to offer my congratulations to the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission. This national mechanism has carried out its duty in an exemplary manner, as certified by all the regional and national observers monitoring the registration and referendum processes, despite all the difficulties it faced, particularly the short period of time available.

"We would also like to thank all our international partners: the international community and this Organization, represented by the United Nations Mission in the Sudan; the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the

Sudan, led by Mr. Benjamin Mkapa; and the Security Council, which has continued to closely monitor all phases of the referendum to see the Comprehensive Peace Agreement implemented. We also thank the African Union panel of wise men, led by President Thabo Mbeki, for its efforts and initiatives to narrow the differences between the two partners on the remaining issues.

"We affirm to the Council that we will continue with the same resolve, credibility and transparency to seek an objective settlement for all outstanding issues, including the situation in the Abyei region. Needless to say, the Abyei issue is not merely a question of the demarcation of administrative borders on the ground or of the division of resources or wealth. It is about addressing the future of the two largest ethnic groups in the region, the tribes of the Dinka Ngok and the Misseriya.

"This region has always been a bridge between North and South. In view of its history of coexistence and tribal interaction, addressing this question requires us to adopt a comprehensive approach of wisdom and reason in order to achieve sustainable peace and stability. We also affirm that continued negotiations between the two parties, and their resolve to achieve a settlement, represent the only assurance of ending tensions in that region so that it does not become an area of confrontation.

"As for Darfur, the Government of the Sudan has always sincerely affirmed that its policy is about resolving the conflicts there, not managing them. This requires negotiations aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement, as we have done with Southern Sudan. Let me reiterate our position of strong support for all the efforts of the mediation in Doha, under the aegis of our sister Government of Qatar and with the support of the African Union and the United Nations.

"However, and in order to guarantee the participation of the majority of citizens of Darfur in a peaceful settlement to achieve a sustainable piece, the Government has adopted a Darfur peace strategy. That is now being steadily implemented in close coordination with the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). As Council members are aware, the most important focus of the strategy is to promote the peace process from the inside so that it functions in parallel and in a complementary manner to the Doha negotiations through the completion of the Darfur dialogue process.

"To that end, we have established a joint working group to include the Sudanese Government and UNAMID. In this connection, preparations and coordination continue through a joint working group so that the whole of Darfur can take part in the political process from within, especially in April the people of Darfur elected their representatives for the National Assembly and the assemblies of the three states of Darfur. Those who were elected enjoy legitimacy as the genuine representatives of the people of Darfur. We thus reaffirm the importance of the Darfur-Darfur dialogue as one of the most important pillars supporting the achievement of a sustainable peace in Darfur.

"Before I conclude, I would like to appeal to all members of the Council and all donor countries to extend economic assistance to both parts of the Sudan, North and South, and to forgive the country's debts so that we may enable our brothers in the South to build their nascent State and compensate the North for the consequences of economic separation from the South. In this regard, I also make a strong appeal for the economic sanctions that have been imposed on the Sudan to be reconsidered, reviewed and lifted. The economic stability of the North also means stability for the South. As the First Vice-President of the Republic and the head of the Government of the South, Mr. Salva Kiir Mayardit, said on Monday at the Cabinet's session in Khartoum, any threat to the North is a threat to the South, and vice versa. There is no greater threat than difficult economic circumstances in either part of the Sudan.

"In conclusion, we again congratulate our brothers in Southern Sudan on their choice. Meanwhile, we reaffirm that peace is a single entity that cannot be divided. The Government of Sudan looks forward to the prospect of a sisterly country, stable and safe, in the South. We will do all in our power and resolve to achieve that.

> "We are confident that our brothers in the South share our understanding of the need for cooperation and integration at this juncture. These have become requirements in the age of globalization, an age fundamentally characterized by the need for small entities to integrate in order to draw on the opportunities and face the challenges of globalization. There is no doubt that integration would reinforce the social and economic links between our two countries and realize the interests of our peoples, which in turn would only benefit have positive effects for our region and more broadly for the continent of Africa."

The President: I thank the representative of the Sudan for his statement on behalf of His Excellency Mr. Ali Karti, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan.

I now give the floor to Mr. Deng Alor Kuol, Minister of Regional Cooperation of the Government of Southern Sudan.

Mr. Deng Alor Kuol: I am very grateful for the opportunity to address the Council following the official announcement of the final results of the referendum in Southern Sudan, and to put forward the views of the Government of Southern Sudan on behalf of all of our people.

I would like to thank you, Madam President, for calling this meeting immediately following the announcement of the final results. This is an indication of the Council's continued support for the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and its determination to remain fully engaged in the maintenance of peace and stability in the Sudan.

I would like to thank the members of the Council for their tireless and continued efforts in this regard. I would also like to express my Government's gratitude for the significant contributions made by the United Nations, and by the United Nations Mission in the Sudan and the Secretary-General's Monitoring Panel in particular, to the safe and peaceful holding of the Southern Sudan referendum.

The fact that the referendum was held on time and conducted peacefully is a major and historic achievement, of which we can all be proud. It is a testament both to the capability of the United Nations, as well as that of the Government of Southern Sudan. Most important, it is a manifestation of the maturity and commitment of all of our citizens to exercise their right to self-determination. The Government of Southern Sudan is satisfied that the conduct of the referendum was peaceful and that the referendum outcome reflects the true democratic will of the people of Southern Sudan. We can now say with confidence that the people have spoken, and they have clearly voted to establish an independent State in South Sudan.

With this in mind, the Government of Southern Sudan calls on the Council and on the international community to recognize the results of the referendum in a timely fashion, to support the emergence of an independent South Sudan on 9 July and to recognize and accept the independent State immediately thereafter. In this context, we welcome the formal acceptance of the final results of the referendum by President Omer Hassan Al-Bashir and the Government of the Sudan, and the commitment to establish two mutually supportive States, at peace with one another, following the end of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement interim period. We also wish to acknowledge the contribution of the people of Northern Sudan to the successful conduct of the referendum, as well as their support for the acceptance of the results. We also note and welcome initial moves being made by members of the international community to provide debt relief for the Republic of the Sudan.

Our challenge now is to finalize the full implementation of the remaining provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, to which we remain completely committed. Building a sustainable and lasting peace for all of the people of the Sudan remains our top priority. We are therefore ready to re-engage vigorously with our partner the National Congress Party (NCP) on critical post-referendum issues, including oil revenue flows, citizenship, protection of our populations and border security. Clarity on all outstanding issues is essential to maintaining stability and progress throughout the region, although in accordance with the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the resolution of those issues is not a precondition for the emergence of an independent State in South Sudan, which will become a reality at the end of the interim period.

While we will proceed along separate paths, both parties have a joint responsibility to all the peoples of

the Sudan to guarantee a peaceful and prosperous future. We believe that this will be achieved by establishing mutual respect and cooperation between Northern and Southern Sudan. We have no interest in returning to the hostilities and divisions of the past. It is our most sincere wish to achieve peaceful coexistence between North and South, to enable all of our peoples to live in security and prosperity. We welcome the Security Council's continued support of this process.

The Government of Southern Sudan, on behalf of the people of Abyei, would like to express its deep disappointment that the referendum required by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement on Abyei did not take place. The terms of the Abyei Protocol, as well as those of the award of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, have very clearly set out the legal obligations of both parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with respect to Abyei. Although the recent regrettable security incidents have been addressed, it is clear that a final and lasting solution on Abyei must be found, and found quickly.

During the last meeting of the presidency, North and South Sudan committed to reaching an early agreement on Abyei. We remain ready to start work immediately with the National Congress Party to resolve the impasse. We continue to see two possible outcomes: either the holding of a referendum consistent with the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement or a transfer of Abyei by presidential decree to the South.

Separately, the South is fully committed to respecting and protecting the grazing rights of Misseriya nomads and other livestock-keepers in Southern Sudan. Those rights will be protected irrespective of the status of Abyei. Despite the challenges we face on this issue, we are optimistic that with the continued support of President Thabo Mbeki, the United States Special Envoy General Scott Gration and the African Union High-level Implementation Panel, the Abyei issue shall be resolved definitively.

The Government of Southern Sudan welcomes the start of the popular consultation process in Blue Nile and calls for such a process to be started in Southern Kordofan as well. We are committed to assisting our partners in the NCP to find a just and fair political settlement for Darfur. We believe that all parties should come to the negotiating table. We do not support a military solution. It is not in the interest of Southern Sudan to encourage war in any area of the Sudan, since we are now enjoying the fruits of a peace that we would like our brothers and sisters in Darfur and all other parts of the country to enjoy as well.

Now that the formidable burdens associated with preparing for the referendum have passed, the Government of Southern Sudan is actively preparing for the responsibilities of statehood by continuing our work on good governance, institution-building and the establishment of a multiparty democracy. The peaceful conduct of the referendum serves as a demonstration of our capabilities and of the maturity of our citizens.

We have already established a technical committee to review the interim constitution of Southern Sudan. This will be followed by the establishment of a constitutional conference. Following independence, the Government of Southern Sudan will establish a broad-based Government of national unity in the South, promulgate a new constitution, and schedule national elections.

Also following independence, the Government of Southern Sudan will apply for membership in the relevant regional and international organizations and international financial institutions. South Sudan shall undertake a review of international treaties, conventions and agreements with a view towards acceding to such agreements upon achieving statehood. We will pay particular attention to the international human rights instruments and international humanitarian law. Of course, regardless of the status of its accession to treaties, the new State shall uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter and the rights and duties affirmed in all relevant international human rights instruments.

The Government of South Sudan will vigorously continue the fight against corruption and will institute all necessary measures to stamp it out. We are also committed to reflecting international human rights norms in our national structures and Government institutions. South Sudan will be not just the world's newest State, but its newest democracy, and we are committed to Government that reflects the will of the people.

We very much welcome the support of the international community in these efforts. The Government of Southern Sudan particularly appreciates the critical role that the United Nations Mission in the

Sudan has played in support of the referendum and in the provision of security in the border areas. The Government of Southern Sudan wishes to see a continued United Nations presence in South Sudan after July 2011. The Government of Southern Sudan looks forward to participating in all relevant discussions, both formal and informal, on the mandate for the continued United Nations presence.

We believe that, after July, the United Nations peacekeeping presence should have a strong focus on maintaining peace and security in the border regions. The United Nations presence should also provide humanitarian assistance for Southerners returning from the North. While we believe that South Sudan itself should have the primary responsibility for the protection of civilians, we envisage that the United Nations and the international community could play a supporting role in this regard, particularly in relation to the risk of insecurity in the border areas and the protection of returnees.

The Government of Southern Sudan's primary focus will be to achieve peace and security through the economic development of South Sudan, and it will work to build the necessary human and physical infrastructure to achieve this. We welcome the continued international support for the implementation of South Sudan's national development strategy.

We support calls for the convening of a donors' conference to promote a coherent and coordinated effort among prospective donors. The Government of Southern Sudan would welcome additional efforts on the part of donors to coordinate such assistance as far as possible. The Government of Southern Sudan is also considering the possibility of our inclusion on the agenda of the Peacebuilding Commission. We will consider this in the context of a coordinated and comprehensive approach to the issues of security, peace and development in Southern Sudan. Separately, the Government of Southern Sudan would also welcome early international action on the issue of the Sudan's international debt.

Of course there will be challenges ahead, and our people will need to be reminded that raising the Southern Sudanese flag on 9 July does not mean that the hard work is over. But their future is in their hands, their triumphs shall be theirs, and the success they have achieved thus far will continue to move us forward. We are confident that, with the continued support of the international community, the new independent Southern Sudanese State that will emerge on 9 July will be one that grows in strength and capacity with every passing year.

This is a decisive moment for Sudan. We are conscious that the referendum is not the end point, but rather provides for a new beginning, and that much work remains to be done. It is my hope that, as Northern and Southern Sudan embark on a new journey, we will have the chance to convey important lessons to the rest of our continent about establishing genuine and lasting peace after a period of war, and about building successful States that provide peace, stability and prosperity for all.

The President: I now give the floor to the representatives of Council members.

Ms. Rice (United States of America): I thank Special Representative Menkerios, President Mkapa, Ambassador Osman on behalf of Foreign Minister Karti, Minister Deng Alor Kuol, and the representative of President Mbeki for their very encouraging comments here today. We deeply appreciate their ongoing dedication to the cause of peace in the Sudan.

After decades of conflict, the images of millions of Southern Sudanese voters deciding their own future was an inspiration to the entire world and another step forward in Africa's long journey towards justice and democracy. Now all parties have a responsibility to ensure that this historic moment of promise becomes a moment of lasting progress. On behalf of the people of the United States, let me again congratulate the people of South Sudan on a successful and historic referendum in which the overwhelming majority of voters chose independence.

We welcome the announcement of the final referendum results and the Government of the Sudan's acceptance of that outcome. We thank the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan, led by President Mkapa, for its crucial role in the process. We are grateful that the entire process was peaceful, and we commend both parties. Respecting the referendum's outcome is our best hope for preventing renewed conflict, and we appreciate the positive statements made thus far by the Sudan's leaders and by international actors.

We call special attention to the African Union's intention to recognize the referendum's outcome and

its call on all States to do likewise. Official recognition of the new State will be crucial and, as President Obama has announced, it is the intention of the United States to formally recognize Southern Sudan as a sovereign, independent State in July 2011.

By summer, the international community will welcome a new nation — the Republic of South Sudan. That nation will face the task of providing security and stability for its people after decades of war. The international community came together in support of the referendum, and this broad multilateral unity was essential to the process' success. It is now time to support the people of the Sudan as they move into a new phase of their history. The people of all parts of the Sudan need to know that they have our full support during this critical period.

With the referendum process completed, it is more important than ever that outstanding issues, such as the status of Abyei, be resolved as quickly as possible. We are pleased to note the 21 January meeting of the presidency, at which the Sudan's leaders agreed to continue to discuss ways to swiftly resolve the Abyei impasse. We urge that these negotiations continue at the highest level. We appreciate the parties' efforts over recent weeks to maintain calm on the ground in Abyei, and it is imperative that a compromise be found to break this impasse and maintain peace in that very tense region.

We are deeply grateful to Special Representative Menkerios for his leadership, and we look to him and the United Nations to continue to play a very active role. As long as Abyei's status remains unresolved, it could indeed trigger further instability across the Sudan, so his work and that of others in that regard is very important. We also consider peaceful and inclusive popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states that reflect the will of the people to be essential components of implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). We urge the parties to ensure that these processes are completed before the interim period ends.

Beyond resolving outstanding CPA issues, we hope that the parties will also work to quickly complete post-referendum arrangements. We urge the parties to swiftly resolve the remaining issues of citizenship, security, water, debt and assets, currency, oil management and wealth-sharing. Resolving these issues will facilitate international assistance to the Sudan, both North and South, and help to ensure a peaceful post-CPA transition. Alternatively, leaving them unresolved is but an invitation to trouble.

We believe that the United Nations should continue to play an important role in assisting the parties to implement their CPA-mandated responsibilities, and we urge the parties to consider ways that a United Nations peacekeeping presence might help their peace efforts and support post-CPA agreements, especially on security. The African Union (AU) is also actively engaged on these issues, and we fully support the work of the AU High-Level Implementation Panel and its Chair, President Thabo Mbeki, including his engagement in Darfur.

The United States remains strongly committed to ensuring lasting resolution of the Darfur conflict, and we are deeply concerned about the region's deteriorating security situation. United States Senior Adviser for Darfur, Ambassador Dane Smith, will work with all parties to ensure justice and accountability, and to reach a comprehensive political solution. We will also persist in our efforts to improve security and humanitarian conditions for the people of Darfur.

We continue to condemn in the strongest possible terms the Government of the Sudan's use of aerial bombardment, and we also ask Council members to join us in doing so. Ending aerial bombardment and ensuring full freedom of movement for the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and humanitarian aid workers are essential steps that would clearly demonstrate the Government of the Sudan's commitment to ending the violence in Darfur.

The renewed fighting in December, chiefly between the Government of the Sudan and the Minni Minnawi faction of the Sudan Liberation Movement, displaced tens of thousands of civilians. Regrettably, the Government of the Sudan continues to refuse UNAMID full freedom of movement. This Council has had numerous discussions on this issue, including last week with Joint Special Representative Gambari. We have a responsibility to the civilians of Darfur who live under the continual threat violence to press UNAMID to fully implement its Chapter VII mandate. We call on the Government of the Sudan and rebel movements to reach an immediate ceasefire agreement and to engage seriously to find a political solution to a conflict that has lasted far too long. The United States has

repeatedly made clear that if its relationship with the Government of the Sudan is to reach its full potential, as we fervently hope it will, the Government of the Sudan must bring peace to Darfur, fully cooperate with UNAMID, provide unrestricted humanitarian access to Darfur, implement a comprehensive peace agreement and contribute to efforts to achieve accountability, justice and reconciliation, while upholding international law and complying with all Security Council resolutions.

This is, at its essence, a moment of hope after a long time of trial. The Sudan has suffered far too much for far too long. Now that the referendum has passed, we will continue to work closely with the Sudanese people in the North and the South to ensure that the referendum is not the end of a process but the beginning of a better future for both nations.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): I would like to begin by welcoming Ambassador Osman and Minister Deng Alor Kuol to the Security Council today. I would also like to thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Menkerios, President Mkapa and the head of the African Union Liaison Office in the Sudan for their briefings, for the support that the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) has provided to the Southern Sudan referendum process, and for the work that the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan has done to monitor that process.

The Panel's assessment that the process as a whole was free, fair and credible confirms that the results announced by the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission on 7 February reflect the will of the people of Southern Sudan, freely expressed. I welcome this. Above all, I warmly welcome the statements that we have heard today from Ambassador Osman and Minister Deng Alor Kuol, which echo the positive reaction of both President Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Salva Kiir to the results of the referendum. As the United Kingdom Prime Minister David Cameron said on 7 February, this moment is a testament to the leaders in both North and South Sudan who ensured a credible and peaceful process. I echo his sentiment today. This is indeed an historic moment, and great credit is due to all those who helped to bring it about.

Courageous political leadership, underpinned by the hard work and dedication of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission and Special Representative Menkerios, has enabled the people of Southern Sudan to make their voices heard and to determine their future. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) gave them the confidence that their choice would be respected. It is worth reflecting for a moment on the significance of this achievement.

But there remains much to be done before the end of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The violence in Upper Nile state on 3 to 5 February underlined the urgency of reaching agreement on all outstanding CPA issues, including Abyei, the border, citizenship and wealth-sharing. We welcome the commitments made at the 27 January presidency meeting to resolve these issues, and urge the parties to make the compromises necessary to securing long-term peace and stability. We welcome also the invaluable work of President Mbeki and the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel in supporting these negotiations.

If we look to the future, it is clear that the peace and prosperity of all Sudanese people will depend on sustained cooperation between North and South. The community of nations, which the people of Southern Sudan will soon join, must work with both North and South to support their development and to help strengthen friendly relations between them. As my Foreign Secretary told this Council on 16 November, "[t]he United Kingdom stands ready to play its part, based on our historic and enduring commitment to all the people of the Sudan" (*S/PV.6425, p. 15*).

The United Kingdom is working with others on the handling of the Sudan's international debt. We are supporting the CPA parties on the demarcation of the border, and we are providing $60 million to the United Nations Common Humanitarian Fund for the benefit of the people of the Sudan, both North and South.

That commitment of course also extends to the people of Darfur. I therefore cannot conclude without addressing the situation there, which remains of deep concern. The displacement of thousands of civilians highlights the impact of the ongoing violence on the most vulnerable. We call on all parties to cease hostilities and to ensure full and unhindered access for the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and humanitarian workers.

With concerted political will, we believe that peace in Darfur can be achieved. We continue to support the work of African Union-United Nations

Joint Chief Mediator Djibrill Bassolé in his efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement in Darfur. We call on all rebel groups that remain outside the negotiations to join the peace process without delay or preconditions. Those that refuse can expect to be sanctioned by the Council. A lasting peace can only be based on the consent of, and justice for, the people of Darfur. We therefore recognize the contribution that Darfur-based consultations could make once a genuine enabling environment has been created in the region.

As we reflect on the historic achievement of the parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in holding a peaceful and credible Southern Sudan referendum, all the people of the Sudan can be assured of the commitment of the United Kingdom to support them in building a peaceful and prosperous future.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to Mr. Menkerios and Mr. Mkapa for their briefings and the work they have done. We also welcome the statements by the representatives of the Sudanese parties.

The exercise in expressing the will of the people was a success thanks to the commitment of the leadership in North and South Sudan to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Russia respects the outcome of the voting, which reflects the choice of the people of South Sudan. The issue now on the agenda is to resolve the main issues of contention between the Sudanese parties during the transition period, such as the status of Abyei, the demarcation of the borders, the distribution of oil revenues and the questions of citizenship and external debt.

It is fundamentally important that the parties continue to express their readiness to resolve those problems and, more generally, to build their relations in a spirit of constructive cooperation. That is the only valid choice in meeting the interests of the people of the Sudan and addressing the challenge of ensuring long-term peace in the territory of this country and the region as a whole. We hope that the leaders in Khartoum and Juba will live up to their responsibilities in this fundamentally new emerging phase of Sudanese history.

There is of course a need for significant international assistance in establishing effective statehood in South Sudan, which will gain its sovereignty on 9 July. The activities of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan continue to be an important factor in supporting stability during the upcoming transition period. Any changes in the configuration and mandate of the United Nations presence should be agreed with the Sudanese sides.

A key task in the coming period will be to settle the conflict in Darfur. That will be possible only by reaching comprehensive political agreements by all parties in Darfur. We support the focus of the current mediation mechanism in Doha to conclude a framework agreement for a settlement in Darfur in the near future. We hope that the Doha process, which continues to be the main platform for reaching peace agreements with the Darfur rebels, as well as other initiatives on a political process in Darfur, will be carried out on a mutually complementary basis.

We welcome the readiness of the Government of the Sudan to continue its constructive participation in the Darfur political settlement process. A priority task today is to ensure that all the main rebel groups in Darfur join the process without preconditions. The international community should put pressure on those rebel leaders who obstinately refuse to participate in the negotiations.

Russia will continue to actively support the establishment of lasting peace, stability and development in the Sudan, in cooperation with the United Nations, the African Union and other interested partners.

Mr. Sangqu (South Africa): We meet today on a historic occasion to celebrate the remarkable and successful outcome of the Southern Sudan referendum. We are pleased to be joined by His Excellency Mr. Deng Alor Kuol, Minister of Regional Cooperation of the Government of Southern Sudan, as well as Ambassador Osman, Permanent Representative of the Sudan, who is here on behalf of his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ali Ahmed Karti. Allow me also to thank Special Representative of the Secretary General Haile Menkerios, former President Benjamin Mkapa and His Excellency Ambassador Kane, on behalf of the High-Level Panel on the Sudan, for their encouraging briefings to the Council today.

At the outset, South Africa wishes to join in congratulating the people and Government of the Sudan on the conclusion and announcement of the results of the Southern Sudan referendum. In that regard, we wish to reiterate the sentiments expressed by President Jacob Zuma in which he "lauded the

efforts of both President Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Salva Kiir on delivering a peaceful and credible referendum for the people of Southern Sudan".

During its recent Summit in Addis Ababa, the leadership of the African Union adopted a solemn declaration on the Sudan in which it recalled that, as a result of the exceptional challenge inherited from its colonial past and the unique nature of its national question, in 2005 Sudanese leaders resolved to grant the right of self-determination to the people of Southern Sudan. The results announced by the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission on 7 February 2011 therefore bear testimony to the collective desire of the people of Southern Sudan to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), thus expressing their commitment to turn their back on war and to embrace a future path of peace, dignity, democracy and development.

On behalf of the people and Government of South Africa, President Jacob Zuma welcomed

> "the immediate acceptance of the results of the referendum by the Government of the Sudan and its expression of willingness to support and conclude all necessary procedures to ensure the establishment of an independent, viable State of South Sudan".

He further said that the acceptance of the results by President Al-Bashir demonstrated the strong political will for peace that exists among the leaders in the Sudan and set the foundation for harmonious coexistence between the people of North and South Sudan.

The African Union Summit also hailed

> "the courage, vision and steadfastness of the Government of the Sudan, under the leadership of President Omer Al-Bashir and First Vice-President and President of the Government of Southern Sudan Salva Kiir Mayardit, which has made possible this momentous achievement".

The Summit also pledged Africa's support as they fulfil their historic responsibility.

We must also congratulate the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission and the Southern Sudan Referendum Bureau which, in four months and with little resources, achieved such astonishing success by competently facilitating a timely referendum process. We also pay tribute to the thousands of volunteers who worked under trying circumstances, sometimes without food or water, to ensure the historic success of the referendum.

The successful referendum in the Sudan has demonstrated that national ownership accompanied by the support of the international community is critical in ensuring the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. My delegation therefore pays tribute to the work of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan, under the leadership of Mr. Menkerios; the African Union and its High Level Implementation Panel on the Sudan, chaired by former President Mbeki; the Chairperson of the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan, former President Benjamin Mkapa; and the countless bilateral and regional partners that contributed to the success of the referendum.

The success of this referendum constitutes an important and critical contribution towards the full implementation of the CPA. The journey ahead will be challenging. However, South Africa is encouraged by the commitment of the parties to the CPA to speedily deal with all outstanding issues, such as the status of Abyei, as well as post-referendum issues — which include border demarcation, natural resources and economic issues, citizenship, security and other issues — as they have promised. In that regard, South Africa is in full support of the African Union High-level Implementation Panel, led by former President Thabo Mbeki, in its work of facilitating the negotiations between the parties on post-referendum issues.

My delegation remains concerned about the deteriorating security situation in Darfur and its devastating humanitarian impact on the region. We reiterate the call on the armed movements by the Security Council and the African Union (AU) to immediately cease all hostilities. We welcome the joint communiqué signed by the Justice and Equality Movement and the Liberation and Justice Movement on 29 January, in which the parties demonstrate a common commitment to peace and justice. It is vital that those commitments translate into the signing of a peace agreement and an end to the violence and hostilities in Darfur.

South Africa calls on those outside the process, especially the Abdul Wahid al-Nur faction of the Sudan Liberation Movement, to join peace negotiations in Doha, as there can be no military solution to the conflict in Darfur. We look forward to an early conclusion of the Doha process so as to lay a strong foundation for the equally important, all-inclusive constituency negotiations based on the Darfur political process as mandated by the African Union.

As we look to the parties in the Sudan to fully implement their commitments under the CPA, we are again reminded of the AU solemn declaration on the Sudan, in which the AU renewed Africa's solidarity with the entire Sudanese people and welcomed equally North and South Sudan and the emerging post-referendum situation as building blocks for the ongoing project of African integration. Having achieved peace, the Sudanese people are now able to fully participate as effective actors and beneficiaries in the common African endeavour of shared prosperity and continental unity.

We call on the international community to ensure that we live up to the expectations of North and South Sudan alike in making their continued journey mutually rewarding. South Africa, for its part, will continue with the projects that it has launched in the Sudan since the signing of the CPA and will support, where necessary, ongoing peace and good neighbourliness between North Sudan and South Sudan.

Mr. Salam (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): It is my pleasure to express my appreciation to President Mkapa, Chairperson of the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan, and Mr. Mahmoud Kane, Head of the African Union Liaison Office in Khartoum. I would also like to thank Mr. Haile Menkerios, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, as well as the head of regional cooperation office in South Sudan for their opening remarks.

It is worth recalling today the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which was signed in 2005 and helped our brothers in Southern Sudan and Northern Sudan to overcome an atrocious war that left countless victims over many years. Despite the events of the past, the parties were able to initiate cooperation, which helped them to implement the Agreement, with assistance from the United Nations, the African Union and the League of Arab States. Thus, they were able to conduct a referendum in a peaceful and honest atmosphere in Southern Sudan so that the people could take charge of their own future in a free and democratic manner. They have honoured their commitments and respected the will of the people of Southern Sudan to live in independence, in accordance with the official results of the referendum, which were announced yesterday.

That does not mean, however, that the North and the South have reached the end of the path between them, as indicated by the Prime Minister of the Sudan. The Prime Minister stated that there would be no hostility between the North and the South, but instead strong ties between the two parties and the two countries. In that context, we applaud the initiative of the Sudanese President, who issued a presidential decree announcing the results of the referendum and making further commitments to work on the various pending matters related to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

Those principles and actions strengthen the atmosphere of optimism that currently prevails and will create closer ties between the North and the South, with a view to increasing coordination and cooperation. That coordination will be undertaken in a new political context in the service of their mutual interests. It goes without saying, however, that we must monitor pending issues very closely. Those issues include the situation in Abyei and post-referendum matters, such as citizenship, wealth-sharing, oil and water revenues, debt and others. We hope that the agreement will have a positive impact on the situation in Southern Sudan. We believe that the adoption of a Darfur peace agreement will have a positive impact on the overall situation in the Sudan.

The Doha process requires the participation of all parties in Darfur. We agree with the call for the Council to strengthen that participation by way of the sanctions list, among other means. We would encourage the Sudanese Government to pursue positive measures so as to create an environment conducive to talks and cooperation, including between the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and the Government of the Sudan. It would be best to not set definitive dates for talking about the end of Doha, nor create parallel or competing portfolios; rather, they should be complementary.

Returning to the situation in Darfur, I would like to congratulate Mr. Haile Menkerios and Mr. Ibrahim Gambari on their respective roles in that regard.

Mr. Osorio (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, I wish to express my gratitude for the statements delivered by Mr. Menkerios, Mr. Mkapa, Mr. Kane, Mr. Osman and Mr. Deng Alor Kuol.

Today, we are recognizing a historic event for the Sudanese people, for the African continent and for all of those who are convinced that conflicts can and must be settled through peaceful and democratic means. The outcome of the referendum is a testament to the will for independence of the people of Southern Sudan. Its importance has been emphasized by the massive voter turnout. Colombia would like to congratulate the Sudanese people for their genuine expression of democracy and the leaders of the Sudan for demonstrating their commitment to and acceptance of the referendum results. I should also like to highlight the work of all of those who participated in the preparation, financing and conduct of the process.

Although the outcome of the referendum marks a milestone in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, we must not lose sight of the fact that the full implementation of the Agreement is essential to fully resolve the situation. Pending substantive issues must be addressed in order to ensure peaceful and mutually beneficial relations between the North and the South.

Unless outstanding issues are resolved definitively — such as those pertaining to citizenship, wealth-sharing, security, natural resources management and border demarcation — serious reversals could occur, leading to endless difficulties. It is therefore important that the parties be encouraged to commit to the effective advancement of negotiations and to support the efforts of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel responsible for implementing the recommendations on the Sudan.

We echo and share the concerns of the other Council members at the situation in Abyei, which we have discussed on numerous occasions. The parties need to make a firm commitment and demonstrate brave political will so as to overcome, with assistance from the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel, the current impasse in the negotiations.

My delegation is confident that the willingness expressed by President Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Kiir at their recent meeting will pave the way for achieving concrete results on all pending issues.

As the interim period ends, the Security Council in particular and the United Nations in general should commit to supporting development and institutional capacity-building of the new State structures, and to encouraging peaceful coexistence between the North and the South. My delegation believes that, with the successful conduct of the referendum and the commitment to respecting its results, it will be possible to achieve an inclusive, adequate agreement that responds to the needs of the people of Darfur and addresses all the roots of the conflict. We reiterate our commitment to the negotiation process evolving in Doha, and we welcome the work of the United Nations-African Union Joint Chief Mediator, Mr. Djibril Bassolé, and the Government of Qatar.

In this regard, we welcome the participation in the negotiations of the Liberation and Justice Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement, and we once again urge all rebel groups to join them immediately and without preconditions, and to cooperate fully in the process. In the view of my delegation, the political process in Darfur should be based on the results achieved in Doha and conducted in an environment that ensures its functionality and inclusiveness. It is important to guarantee the coordination of all stakeholders interested in achieving a peaceful solution in the region.

The situation and security in Darfur continue to be of great concern. An agreement leading to a ceasefire between the parties should be a key and immediate objective. Finally, let me reiterate that the international community and our Organization in particular must maintain their commitment to this and future generations in the quest for peace and prosperity for the Sudanese people.

Mr. Moraes Cabral (Portugal): Let me start by commending the peaceful way in which the Sudan has started a new chapter of its history. This is indeed a historic achievement. Portugal looks forward to continuing working with the North and the South to build a peaceful and prosperous future for both countries.

I thank Special Representative Menkerios and President Benjamin Mkapa for their comprehensive

briefings, as well as for the significant work the Special Representative and the Secretary-General's Panel have undertaken. Allow me also to extend a word of appreciation to Minister Deng Alor Kuol and Ambassadors Kane and Osman for their statements. What we heard from all of them today is indeed very encouraging.

Portugal welcomes the official announcement on 7 February of the final results of the referendum on self-determination for the people of Southern Sudan, and congratulates them once again on their peaceful determination and the orderly way in which they expressed their democratic will. We commend the two parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) for living up fully to the political commitment required to ensure that the peace process moves forward. We also commend the work of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission in Khartoum and Juba, and of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan.

The Southern Sudanese people have clearly expressed their determination to establish an independent State. But as we have underlined before, despite the remarkable operational and political achievement that the referendum represents, the work to complete implementation of the CPA is not over. It requires further, complex negotiations led in a spirit of continued compromise and cooperation on the part of both parties. We are encouraged by the willingness reiterated by President Bashir and First Vice-President Kiir to continue implementing the CPA and seeking an agreement on the key post-referendum arrangements that are essential to ensuring a peaceful future and a mutually beneficial relationship between two viable States.

In this regard, we welcome the start of the popular consultation process in Blue Nile state and urge the parties to once again ensure inclusive, timely and credible popular consultation processes there and in Southern Kordofan state. Another question of paramount importance is reaching a comprehensive agreement on the status of Abyei, encompassing all the issues at stake. The lack of such an agreement will only tend to keep fuelling tensions in the region. We therefore reaffirm our support for the ongoing mediation work of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel and its Chair, President Thabo Mbeki. While leaders of the North and the South continue to work together, it is also essential that both parties protect the rights of Sudanese civilians, whether Northerners or Southerners.

Peace and hope should extend to all Sudanese, including those in Darfur. Continued violence against civilians and violations of their human rights are unacceptable and must cease forthwith. Portugal wishes to voice its appreciation for the efforts so far undertaken within the African Union-United Nations-led peace process for Darfur, and to acknowledge the added value that the Darfur-based political process can represent as a complement to the Doha process once the enabling environment throughout Darfur has been established.

But, as many of us have stressed, a peaceful solution to the crisis in Darfur can be found only if there is real commitment from all parties to laying the foundations for an inclusive and comprehensive peace agreement. We are therefore encouraged by the willingness to negotiate within the Doha framework recently shown by the Government of the Sudan and by the Justice and Equality Movement and the Liberation and Justice Movement. Nevertheless, we urge all the other groups to join and actively engage in the peace process without further delay or preconditions, and to cease hostilities immediately. We also call on the parties to ensure full and unhindered access for the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur throughout the Mission area, and to allow humanitarian workers to provide assistance to all populations in need.

To conclude, let me underline again that the continuing commitment, engagement and close cooperation of all parties will be necessary to achieve a peaceful and prosperous future for the North and the South alike. Likewise, the international community must continue to show its unity and act in a concerted manner under the leadership of the United Nations, affording the two States the support and encouragement they will need in the still difficult times ahead. Portugal will continue to support along these lines, and with the objective of supporting all efforts that can contribute to making this new chapter of the Sudanese people's life, in the South and in the North, an effective success.

Mr. Manjeev Singh Puri (India): I, too, would like to thank Special Representative Haile Menkerios and President Benjamin Mkapa for their comprehensive and useful briefings on the current

situation in the Sudan. I would also like to join others in thanking the representatives of the African Union, the Ambassador of the Sudan and the Minister from the Government of Southern Sudan for sharing their perspectives on the situation with us.

As other colleagues have mentioned, we have witnessed events that have far-reaching significance, not only for the people of the Sudan but also for the region and, indeed, for the entire African continent. A very large number of eligible voters — 97.58 per cent — participated in the referendum, and an overwhelming number of those voters — 98.83 per cent — raised their voice in favour of separation. For the organization of a fair and transparent referendum, our thanks are due to the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission and to the international organizations involved, in particular the United Nations — as well as, of course, the European Union, the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and others partnering the Commission.

Most importantly, the leadership shown by President Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Salva Kiir is to be complemented, because without their political will and cooperation the process could not have run as smoothly and peacefully as it did. We are glad that President Al-Bashir welcomed the results on 7 February as the will of the Southern Sudanese people. We also welcome First Vice-President Salva Kiir's statement that the referendum was not the end of the road, and that he will cooperate with Khartoum to build strong relations.

The conclusion of the referendum process is only a milestone, albeit an important one, on the road to the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in the Sudan.

Enormous challenges lie ahead. A number of issues remain to be resolved, including citizenship, the status of Abyei, popular consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states, border delineation and demarcation, the division of resources and security arrangements. In this context, we are encouraged by the meeting held in Khartoum on 27 January between President Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Salva Kiir, along with President Thabo Mbeki. Their agreement to promote sustainable peace and stability between the North and the South, to let the CPA institutions continue their work until the end of the interim period, to continue with the work of the Technical Committee on Border Demarcation, and to resolve the status of Abyei is most welcome.

The efforts of the Sudanese parties need to be supported by the international community. We should look beyond the referendum and assist the parties in their nation-building exercise. Sustainable peace and stability can be firmly established only when the development needs of all of the people of the Sudan are met. The fragility of the situation was demonstrated once again during the past week. More than 50 people, including a United Nations staff member, were killed in clashes between Southern and Northern soldiers from the joint integrated unit from Malakal in Upper Nile state.

There are also several fault lines in Southern Sudan. Indeed, even as we deliberate here today, we have received news of the killing of a minister of the Government of Southern Sudan. While this was reportedly due to an issue between the personalities concerned, it does point to the security challenges in the region. We therefore believe that unless the pending issues are resolved expeditiously and the process of building governance and economic development institutions is accelerated, conflicts along those fault lines remain a real danger.

India has some 3,000 troops in the United Nations Mission in the Sudan and has contributed six Mi-17 helicopters. The Sudan is the largest recipient of lines of credit from India, with projects totaling nearly $1 billion. India is the second largest investor in the Sudan. For capacity-building in civilian sectors, India offers more than 150 slots every year under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme and 20 post-graduate and doctoral scholarships for student from both North and South Sudan. In July last year, we offered fellowships in Indian agricultural universities for four PhD and six MSc courses to the Sudan under the India-Africa Action Plan.

India stands ready to further enhance its assistance to the Sudan, as may be required by the Governments of the Sudan and Southern Sudan. We urge the international community to increase its support to the Sudan in the areas of debt relief, economic investment and assistance so that Sudanese leaders have material resources as well as public support for dealing with and surmounting the challenges they face.

Last but not least, the situation on the ground in Darfur is not much better than the last time the Council discussed the issue. While there has been some encouraging news about the two rebel groups deciding to send their teams to Doha, we have yet to see a breakthrough. The Council should therefore reiterate its demand that all armed groups agree to an immediate ceasefire and participate in the Doha peace process without delay or conditions so that the process may reach its successful conclusion. We commend the Government of Qatar for its sustained efforts in favour of the success of the Doha peace process for sustainable peace in Darfur, which includes all sections of society. We welcome the efforts of the Government of the Sudan to start a Darfur-based political process that would build on the outcomes of the Doha peace process. In this context, we commend the efforts of the High-Level Implementation Panel led by President Mbeki, and welcome the 31 January declaration of the African Union on the complete normalization of relations between the international community and the Sudan.

Mr. Barbalić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I thank Mr. Menkerios, Special Representative of the Secretary-General; President Mkapa, Chair of the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan; and Ambassador Mahmoud Kane. We also welcome the participation of the Permanent Representative of the Sudan and the Minister of Regional Cooperation of the Government of Southern Sudan.

We welcome the announcement of the final results of the referendum on Southern Sudan and commend the parties for their constructive cooperation in the referendum process. Bosnia and Herzegovina supports the full and timely implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). In that regard, we urge the parties to redouble their efforts to find solutions for Abyei and other outstanding CPA issues — including wealth-sharing, management of assets and debts, citizenship and border security arrangements — before the end of the interim period.

We praise the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel and other international partners for their roles in assisting the CPA parties in this important endeavour. We are encouraged by the activities of the international community and the United Nations in anticipating the future engagement of the United Nations in Southern Sudan. Special attention should be given to capacity-building, economic development and efforts to develop cooperation between the North and South as a crucial component of long-term stability in the region.

We are concerned by the fact that the parties have not yet reached an agreement on Abyei. We urge them to reconcile their differences and find an acceptable solution regarding this important part of the CPA as soon as possible.

We commend the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) for its efforts in Abyei at this critical time. With regard to restrictions on the freedom of movement of UNMIS, we call on the Sudanese authorities to ensure the Mission's unhindered access.

A just, comprehensive and inclusive solution must be found for Darfur. It is high time to end the vicious cycle of violence and bring peace to the people of that region. We reiterate our full support for the United Nations and African Union-led peace process in Doha and the efforts of the Joint Chief Mediator, Mr. Bassolé. We urge all parties to join the Doha peace process without preconditions or further delays.

We are concerned by the upsurge of violence in Darfur and call upon all parties to cease hostilities and ensure unrestricted access to personnel of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and humanitarian workers to the affected areas and population in need. We strongly condemn the continued attacks on and kidnapping of UNAMID and humanitarian personnel. We urge the Government to ensure law and order in Darfur and to bring the perpetrators of such acts to justice. Ending impunity is a critical factor for ensuring lasting peace and stability in Darfur.

Finally, we commend UNMIS and UNAMID personnel for their tireless efforts in carrying out their mandates in difficult circumstances.

Mr. Moungara Moussotsi (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I, too, would like to thank Mr. Menkerios and President Mkapa for their statements and for their important work in the Sudan. I also thank Ambassador Osman and Mr. Deng Alor Kuol, Minister of Regional Cooperation of the Government of Southern Sudan, for their statements.

The announcement of the final results of the referendum on 7 February marks the conclusion of a long political process throughout which the authorities

of both the North and the South showed great restraint and commitment to peace. I would therefore like to pay a warm and well-deserved tribute to them here.

The statement made by President Al-Bashir recognizing the results announced by the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission and thereby committing to respect the choice of independence made by the Southern Sudanese should be commended. Likewise, I welcome the commitments made by First Vice-President Salva Kiir to work alongside the Sudanese Government in the mutual interests of the North and the South. The Council should therefore encourage the two parties to keep up this momentum of cooperation and spirit of openness in order to conclude discussions on post-referendum arrangements and the status of Abyei as soon as possible. We call on the two parties to make the necessary courageous concessions to bring about a successful conclusion to the political process. We welcome the leadership of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel, chaired by President Thabo Mbeki.

In addition, the parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement must also agree on a framework to determine the future of the millions of Southerners who live in the North and Northerners who live in the South. To that end, they must provide essential guarantees to reassure the civilian population.

The clashes near the border town of Malakal, which have caused almost 50 deaths, including one United Nations staff member, remind us that the future of friendly relations and peaceful coexistence between the North and the South, aimed at achieving stability in the Sudan, requires the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and an early conclusion of the suspended talks.

The success of the referendum in Southern Sudan must not obscure the precarious nature of the situation in Darfur and its impact on the civilian population and humanitarian workers. We must therefore maintain pressure on the parties, in particular to encourage armed groups that have not yet joined the peace process to do so without conditions or delay.

We welcome and support the efforts by the Government of Qatar and African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator Djibril Bassolé. We also welcome the presence in Doha of the Justice and Equality Movement and the Liberation and Justice Movement.

Establishing and building the new State of Southern Sudan will require an enhanced mobilization of efforts and substantial support by the international community, in particular in the economic sphere. This support must also be provided to the Government of the Sudan, whose cooperation was a decisive factor in the holding of the referendum in the South.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haile Menkerios for his briefing and his outstanding work at the head of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS). I also thank President Mbeki and President Mkapa for their decisive work alongside UNMIS in the past few months. I should also like to thank Mr. Deng Alor Kuol and Mr. Osman, the representative of the Sudan, for their statements. I also welcome the commitment shown by the two parties throughout the referendum process. Finally, on behalf of the French authorities, I congratulate the people of Southern Sudan on the maturity they have shown on this historic occasion.

The immediate recognition by the parties of the official results announced Monday by the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission shows the significant progress that has been achieved since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in 2005. The authorities in Khartoum and Juba have chosen the path of peaceful cooperation to achieve a successful conclusion to the referendum and acceptance of its results. We welcome this common will to overcome the past.

However, as previous speakers have said, much remains to be done before the end of the interim period in July. First of all, a solution must be found to the issue of Abyei. A temporary agreement has allowed for the cessation of violence between the parties. A lasting solution must be found in order to determine once and for all the status of the province and the terms on which the populations there can coexist. We would request that the two parties find a solution before March, as they agreed at the presidential level on 27 January.

In addition, the pending post-referendum questions must be resolved. The future of the relationship between the North and the South depends on a common understanding of the border demarcation and of issues of security, citizenship and wealth sharing. As the clashes last week in the Upper Nile region have shown, a solution must be found for the

Southern forces that are there as part of the Sudanese Army, as well as for the Northern forces in the Sudan People's Liberation Army stationed in Blue Nile and Kordofan. We encourage the continued mediation by the Mbeki Panel on these subjects and call on the parties to spare no effort and make the necessary concessions to allow for the establishment of a lasting peace.

For its part, the United Nations will now start the important task of adapting its presence and work, with the participation of the Sudan, in two distinct countries. A new mission will have to be re-established in Southern Sudan in order to carry out the task of peacebuilding there. Its mandate will have to take into account the decisive role that the United Nations team established in Juba will be called to play in coordination with bilateral donors.

In North Sudan, retaining a cell from UNMIS would be a valuable step to take in terms of providing follow-up to the implementation of post-referendum issues and supporting the final stages of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, that is, the conclusion of the popular polls in the Blue Nile, where they have begun, and in Southern Kordofan, where they have not yet been organized. This would provide support to the two new neighbours in the early stages of their bilateral relations. We are at the Secretariat's disposal in terms of contributing to the consideration under way on the reconfiguration of the United Nations presence in the North and the South.

While we welcome the successful holding of the referendum, we cannot ignore the current deterioration in the situation in Darfur. The number of displaced persons has increased. Humanitarian access is not always possible. We are therefore left to wonder whether some have not indeed chosen the military option. We know that this is not a viable option. The Sudanese Armed Forces and the rebel groups must reach a ceasefire with delay, followed by a lasting peace agreement.

The developments we have seen in recent weeks in the context of the Doha negotiations are encouraging. The Sudan People's Liberation Army, headed by Abdul Wahid al-Nur, must, from now on and without delay or preconditions, join the talks, as have the Liberation and Justice Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement.

We also support the efforts undertaken by the African Union for peace in Darfur. As highlighted recently by the solemn declaration made by the heads of State and Government of the African Union on the Sudan, a political process in Darfur will be able to complement the efforts in Doha once those efforts have created an environment that allows for such talks to be held.

We also continue to support the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and firmly condemn the hindrances it faces. The mission must redouble its efforts to protect civilians, as required by its mandate. Progress must still be made in this respect.

I would like to conclude by recalling that there can be no peace without justice in Darfur.

Mrs. Ogwu (Nigeria): Let me to join others in thanking His Excellency President Mkapa, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haile Menkerios and Ambassador Mahmoud Kane for their illuminating and inspiring statements today. Their invaluable input throughout this historic process has without a doubt contributed to the successful outcome of the South Sudan referendum. I would also like to welcome the representatives of the Governments of the Sudan and South Sudan and thank them indeed for their contributions to this meeting.

On behalf of my Government, I want to welcome the final result of the South Sudan referendum, which represents the true and valid wish of the people of South Sudan, expressed in a free, fair and transparent process.

In that connection, we want to once again commend President Omer Al-Bashir and First Vice-President Salva Kiir for leading the challenging process to a successful conclusion. Their statements of mutual support and timely acceptance of the outcome of the referendum, reaffirmed here today by their representatives, demonstrate their exemplary courage, leadership, goodwill and dedication to the peace process. The people of the Sudan and the United Nations Mission in the Sudan also deserve our commendation.

The announcement and acceptance of the referendum results by all parties in the Sudan have paved the way for a new State to emerge through a peaceful process, and we look forward to welcoming South Sudan into the United Nations and African

Union families in July. We hope that the parties in the Sudan will seize the current moment to pursue sincere negotiations on the remaining CPA and post-referendum issues. It is possible, in our view, for both parties, inspired by the success of the referendum to work tirelessly between now and July to complete the key outstanding tasks under the CPA.

We share the concerns expressed by Member States today over the status of Abyei. We believe that it is necessary to reach workable compromises on the Abyei question, the North-South border, popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states, and security arrangements between the North and South. Undoubtedly, the successful determination of these issues will engender a stable partnership between North and South Sudan in the long term.

There is no doubt that South Sudan will face formidable challenges on the road to achieving a stable and effective Government. Indeed, the challenges of State-building will be exacerbated by the rising expectations of independence and statehood. The truth, however, is that attaining economic, political and social transformation is always an arduous process. The leaders of South Sudan must therefore stay focused on and remain committed to developing a transparent and inclusive political process that incorporates all segments, guarantees freedoms and protects all people, particularly women and children.

We welcome in this regard First Vice-President Salva Kiir's convening of a constitutional panel to review the South's legal institutions. Nigeria recognizes that Southern Sudanese leaders cannot overcome the major challenges facing the territory on their own. Now more than ever, this Council and the international community must stand in solidarity with Southern Sudan. Our solidarity will indeed be put to the test in the quality and quantity of the assistance that we provide to the Government and people of South Sudan.

This Friday's Security Council debate on the interdependence between security and development will provide an opportunity for the Council to clarify its role in that regard. It is important for the Council to remain as united, resolute and committed as it has been in the past. We implore the African Union, the European Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, neighbouring countries and other bilateral partners to join hands in assisting Southern Sudan.

On Darfur, we welcome Joint Chief Mediator Djibrill Bassolé's extensive consultations within the Sudan and in the region. We also welcome the substantial progress in the Doha talks, and commend the Joint Chief Mediator for his perseverance and the Qatar Government for its enduring support. Once again, we urge the Justice and Equality Movement, the Sudan Liberation Movement-Abdul Wahid and the Government of the Sudan to seize the opportunity to engage fully in the Doha talks without preconditions. Nigeria firmly believes that an internal political process is indispensable to inclusiveness and consensus-building in intercommunal relations in Darfur. We therefore welcome the prospect of an open and credible Darfur-based political process to support and strengthen the Doha talks.

We would like to seize this opportunity to express once again our unalloyed support for the work of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) under the leadership of Mr. Ibrahim Gambari. I should note here that UNAMID is working in a challenging environment in Darfur.

Nigeria takes this opportunity to reiterate its commitment to the Sudanese peace process. We believe that our collective support will be crucial as the people of the Sudan, in the North and the South alike, make the necessary adjustments and transform their fortunes.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Allow me to thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haile Menkerios, President Mkapa and Ambassador Mahmoud Kane, speaking on behalf of President Mbeki, for their respective briefings. We welcome the presence of representatives from Northern and Southern Sudan at today's meeting.

Thanks to the joint efforts of Northern and Southern Sudan, the referendum in Southern Sudan was held smoothly and its final results were announced two days ago. China respects the will and choice of the Sudanese, and appreciates the unremitting efforts made by Northern and Southern Sudan to promote the peace process between them. The referendum is a crucial step in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), but it is not the end of the road.

The Security Council should pay close attention to the new situation, new challenges and new tasks that

have emerged following the referendum. It must also formulate corresponding strategies in a timely manner. We also hope that Northern and Southern Sudan will, in the spirit of mutual understanding and compromise, continue to seek solutions to the outstanding issues through dialogue and consultation, and see the implementation of the CPA through to its culmination in order to maintain peace and stability in the Sudan and the region.

China appreciates the assistance and support provided by the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) and the Secretary-General's Panel on the Referenda in the Sudan towards the orderly holding of the referendum. We welcome their ongoing assistance to Northern and Southern Sudan in the comprehensive implementation of the CPA. The mandate of UNMIS will expire at the end of April. At that time, the Security Council will need to make a decision on the future of the Mission. In that regard, China believes that the views of the parties should be taken into full consideration.

The African Union (AU) is a major strategic partner of the United Nations in addressing the issue of the Sudan. The AU and its High-Level Implementation Panel on the Sudan, led by Mr. Mbeki, played an important role in promoting the smooth holding of the referendum in the Southern Sudan. China welcomes the declaration on the Sudan issued at the recent AU Summit.

In order to achieve lasting peace in the Sudan, it is imperative that a comprehensive peace agreement be reached in Darfur as soon as possible. China has always been closely attentive to and supportive of the Doha talks, in which we welcome the recent progress. We urge all parties in Darfur that have yet to join the Doha talks to do so immediately and without condition. China supports the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and its positive contribution, under resolution 1935 (2010), to promoting the political process in Darfur.

Mr. Wittig (Germany): I will be brief. Most of the things I want to say have been said before, so I will focus on a very few points.

Germany warmly welcomes the peaceful voting during the referendum and joins others in congratulating the parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and, above all, the people everywhere in the Sudan. We are encouraged by the responsible behaviour of the Government in Khartoum over recent weeks. Again, we extend our gratitude to the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission and its Bureau. We commend the United Nations Mission in the Sudan and Special Representative Menkerios for their crucial contribution, as well as the Panel under President Mkapa.

After the pronouncement of the official results, all parties in the Sudan and the international community now need to focus on the future, the consolidation of peace, good relations and coexistence between the North and the South, and capacity-building for a wholly new State. In this enormous endeavour, all parties need to continue to cooperate in good faith.

The forthcoming creation of an independent State in South Sudan will redraw the political and economic landscape of Africa. At the same time, we see the opportunity for the development of peaceful neighbourly relations. Many serious challenges remain. In particular, there is a need for a durable solution to the question of Abyei. We urgently call upon the parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to complete the popular consultations in South Kordofan and Blue Nile and to reach an agreement on Abyei. The other remaining post-referendum issues — such as citizenship, the rights of northerners in the South and of southerners in the North, wealth sharing, border demarcation and security arrangements — must be addressed without further delay.

The Council's decisions have been crucial for the peaceful referendum process. But the Security Council will have to continue to assume responsibility and extend its support to institution-building in the soon-to-be new independent State in South Sudan. Germany stands ready to contribute.

Finally, we must not divert our attention from the situation in Darfur. We are very concerned about the continuing violence in the region and the displacement of thousands of people. We urge the Government of the Sudan and all groups in Darfur to provide for the safety and security of the civilian population and to ensure unhindered access for the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and for humanitarian aid.

We are encouraged to hear that the peace talks in Doha are about to gain new momentum. We continue to urge all parties to the peace talks to conclude a comprehensive ceasefire and agreements on all other outstanding issues. The people of Darfur deserve peace and they deserve it right now.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Brazil.

It is a great honour to preside over this historic meeting. The last time Brazil held the Council's presidency, almost six years ago, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) had just been signed. Since then, the parties to the CPA and the Sudanese people have come a long way on the path towards the democratic transformation of the Sudan.

Brazil warmly congratulates all Sudanese for the peaceful and transparent conduct of the referendum. We also commend Sudanese leaders for displaying statesmanship and for their determination to pursue dialogue and mutual understanding. We applaud the CPA parties for having accepted the results of the referendum and for committing to their implementation.

Brazil also commends the excellent work of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan, under the leadership of Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haile Menkerios. We also reiterate our appreciation for the contribution of the Panels led by Presidents Mkapa and Mbeki.

However momentous this achievement is, the holding of the Southern Sudan referendum is but another step towards peace, stability and development in the Sudan. We encourage the parties to the CPA to continue to address the remaining issues and post-referendum arrangements in the same atmosphere of cooperation that prevailed during the holding of the referendum.

It is important that the popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states be completed and that a solution is found concerning the status of Abyei.

The United Nations must continue to provide assistance, as requested, to ensure a smooth transition in the post-referendum period. Options for the future presence of the United Nations in the Sudan must take into account the interdependence between security and development, which so clearly manifests itself in the Sudanese conflicts. Institution-building and strong support for development will be necessary in Southern Sudan. The Peacebuilding Commission could play an important role in that regard.

The time has also come for the long-awaited peace in Darfur. The Doha peace process must come to a conclusion soon. Conditions must be reached for the launching of the Darfurian political process. We are encouraged by the announced intention of the Liberation and Justice Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement to participate in the Doha peace negotiations. Brazil deplores, nevertheless, the recent upsurge in hostilities and the continuation of attacks on the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and on humanitarian agencies.

Bilaterally, Brazil looks forward to strengthening its ties to both North and South Sudan. Our bilateral trade has been increasing in recent years. New partnerships are being forged in the areas of agriculture and biofuels. Cooperation initiatives are yielding results. With peace and stability in the Sudan, those initiatives will certainly thrive and be followed by many others.

We hope this momentous occasion marks the beginning of a future for all Sudanese that fully realizes their aspirations for stability, peace and development.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

As agreed by Council members, I shall now suspend the meeting, with the intention of resuming shortly.

The meeting was suspended at 12.45 p.m. and resumed at 2.00 p.m.

The President: I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the 7 February announcement by the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission of the final results of the referendum on self-determination for the people of Southern Sudan, which showed that 98.83 per cent of voters chose independence. The Council calls on the international community to lend its full support to all Sudanese people as they build a peaceful and prosperous future.

"The Council congratulates the parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the people of the Sudan for a peaceful and successful referendum, and commends the United Nations Mission in the Sudan for its contribution to the process.

"The Security Council warmly welcomes the statements of President Omer Al-Bashir and Vice-President Salva Kiir on 7 February, in which they accepted the final results of the referendum. The Council calls on all Member States to respect

the outcome of the referendum, and looks forward to welcoming an independent South Sudan as a new member of the international community after 9 July.

"The Security Council welcomes the work of the Secretary-General's Panel, led by former President Benjamin Mkapa. The Council praises the CPA parties for their commitment to the CPA, as illustrated by their support for a timely and credible referendum process. The Council underlines that full and timely implementation of the CPA is essential to peace and stability in the Sudan and the region and to future cooperation between Northern and Southern Sudan and the international community.

"The Security Council further acknowledges that the process mandated by the CPA represents an exceptional case and does not, by itself, set a precedent.

"The Security Council reaffirms its support for the work of the African Union High-level Implementation Panel and its Chair, President Thabo Mbeki, and notes the commitments made by the CPA parties in the 27 January presidency meeting and encourages them to continue to strive for a timely agreement on the implementation of outstanding CPA issues. The Council urges the parties to reach quickly an agreement on Abyei and other critical issues, including border demarcation, security arrangements, citizenship, debts, assets, currency, wealth-sharing and natural resource management. The Council welcomes the start of the popular consultation process in Blue Nile state and stresses the importance of inclusive, timely and credible popular consultations processes in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states, in accordance with the CPA.

"The Security Council deeply regrets the loss of life in violence in Upper Nile state from 3 to 5 February. The Security Council underlines the need for the CPA parties to prevent further clashes and promote calm, including by providing immediate and ongoing reassurance to people of all nationalities in the Sudan, including Southerners in the North and Northerners in the South, that their rights, safety and property will continue to be respected. The Council urges the CPA parties to respect their obligations.

"The Security Council reiterates its deep concern over the increase in violence and insecurity in Darfur, including ceasefire violations, attacks by rebel groups and aerial bombardment by the Sudanese Armed Forces, which recently displaced approximately 43,000 civilians, and the kidnapping on 13 January of three members of the United Nations Humanitarian Air Service. The Security Council recalls the importance that it attaches to an end to impunity and to justice for crimes committed in Darfur. The Security Council reaffirms its support for The African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), and urges all parties to ensure full and unhindered access for UNAMID throughout the mission area and to allow humanitarian workers to provide assistance to all populations in need.

"The Security Council reaffirms its support for the African Union-United Nations-led peace process for Darfur, hosted by the State of Qatar, the work of Joint Chief Mediator Djibril Bassolé, and the principles guiding the negotiations. The Council welcomes the presence of the Justice and Equality Movement and the Liberation and Justice Movement in Doha, and strongly urges all other rebel movements to join the peace process without further delay or preconditions, and all parties to engage with a view to concluding urgently a comprehensive agreement.

"The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council by the end of February on issues related to the Darfur-based political process, including an assessment of the enabling environment.

"The Security Council reiterates the importance of increased participation of women in the Sudanese peace processes.

"The Security Council will continue to follow developments in the Sudan, including in Darfur, closely."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2011/3.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 2.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6479

Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

Provisional

6479th meeting

Friday, 11 February 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Patriota	(Brazil)
Members:	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Alkalaj
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	Colombia	Ms. Holguín Cuéllar
	France	Mr. Araud
	Gabon	Mr. Bunduku-Latha
	Germany	Mr. Westerwelle
	India	Mr. Krishna
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Nigeria	Mrs. Ogwu
	Portugal	Mr. Amado
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Mrs. DiCarlo

Agenda

Maintenance of international peace and security

The interdependence between security and development

Letter dated 2 February 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/50)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Maintenance of international peace and security

The interdependence between security and development

Letter dated 2 February 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/50)

The President: I wish to welcome the presence at this meeting of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, and the Ministers present here today.

Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I should like to invite the representatives of Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Georgia, Guatemala, Honduras, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Peru, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Senegal, Slovenia, the Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Eugene-Richard Gasana, Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and Permanent Representative of Rwanda.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Ms. Sarah Cliffe, Special Representative and Director for the *2011 World Development Report* of the World Bank.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Pedro Serrano, Acting Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mrs. Alice A. Mungwa, Chargé d'affaires of the Office of the Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of item 2 on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2011/50, transmitting the concept paper on the item under consideration.

I now invite the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. President, and the Government of Brazil for focusing on the crucial linkages between peace, security and development.

Recent events around the world are a sharp reminder of the need for political stability to be anchored in peace, opportunity, decent standards of living and the consent of the governed.

Peace, security and development are interdependent. Evidence abounds.

Nine of the 10 countries with the lowest human development indicators have experienced conflict over the past 20 years. Countries facing stark inequalities and weak institutions are at increased risk of conflict. Poorly distributed wealth and lack of sufficient jobs, opportunities and freedoms, particularly for a large youth population, can also increase the risk of instability. Drug trafficking and international organized crime have found fertile ground in places that lack basic services and economic opportunities, leading to fear in the streets and insecurity across entire regions.

Just as the lack of development can feed the flames of conflict, economic and social progress can help to prevent it and secure peace. Sustained, broadly based development can help to address the roots of conflict through such steps as ensuring the equitable sharing of wealth, providing better access to agricultural lands, strengthening governance and ensuring justice for all. Above all, development should be inclusive. By definition, this means including women, who can play a critical role in negotiations and peace processes, and young people, who have vast potential to contribute to the development of their societies. In short, inclusive development on the basis of consensus and consultation is perhaps the most effective route to diminishing the risks of conflict and enabling long-term stability.

In recent years, we have come a long way in incorporating these insights into our work. The

Peacebuilding Commission, for example, brings together a wide variety of actors to develop common approaches, including the members of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, troop contributors and key donors, with the participation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The equally new Peacebuilding Fund works to motivate and support the timely efforts of the full United Nations family for peacebuilding.

I have also requested all United Nations presences in places where there is both a United Nations country team and a multidimensional peacekeeping operation or political mission to identify priority areas for peace consolidation and to develop integrated strategic frameworks to guide their work in these areas. It is increasingly recognized that these strategic frameworks must be developed with the host country to account for national priorities and to enable ownership of the development process.

Furthermore, the 2008 United Nations-World Bank Partnership Framework for Crisis and Post-Crisis Situations provides a basis for developing coherent approaches to post-conflict countries. These are important steps, yet there is more we can do to ensure truly integrated, mutually reinforcing approaches to security and development. Let me highlight five areas.

First, if the United Nations is to act as one across the security-development spectrum, we would benefit from a "whole of Government" approach applied by Member States across the multilateral system. In this respect, I welcome the increasing emphasis placed by Member States on strengthening coherence across different multilateral institutions, including through structured delivery and the engagement of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Peacebuilding Commission, United Nations executive boards and the governing boards of the World Bank and the IMF.

Secondly, we need to better manage the process of drawdown and withdrawal of Security Council-mandated operations, and provide a stronger basis for seamless transitions of specific tasks to the United Nations country team and other development actors.

Thirdly, we need to find innovative ways to build and strengthen national institutions in fragile countries. As last month's Security Council debate on institution-building made clear (see S/PV.6472), effective institutions and strong national ownership are central to sustainable peace.

Fourthly, we must focus more on the climate change-security-development nexus. Lack of energy and the effects of climate change are having increasingly serious impacts on development and security. We cannot achieve security without securing energy and managing climate risks.

Fifthly, we need to consider how to reduce criminal violence — an ever greater security concern in many parts of the world. In some regions, organized crime is threatening both development gains and the very fabric of international peace and security. Organized crime is a challenge to a modern functioning State.

I would also add that, in too many places around the world, the proliferation of small arms and ammunition is a standing threat to the security of ordinary people. In this context, the Council may wish to consider strengthening its collaboration with the General Assembly to advance strategies to halt the illicit proliferation of small arms and ammunition.

As highlighted in my recent report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and development in Africa,

> "the next generation of security challenges will require added emphasis on crisis management, disaster risk reduction strategies, stronger civilian components in peace operations and strengthening the rule of law" (*S/2010/526**, *para. 101*).

At the strategic level, it will be necessary to better prioritize and sequence security, governance and development efforts, and to reach out to new partners. The forthcoming World Development Report will provide important insights in these areas. We have ample experience and convincing evidence illustrating the close links between peace, security and development.

I look forward to continuing to work with the Security Council and the full range of partners in bringing this knowledge to bear on our efforts to fulfil our Charter-driven mandate to promote peace and human well-being. I thank the members of the Security Council for their continuing focus on these challenges.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Eugène-Richard Gasana.

Mr. Gasana: Within three weeks' time, the Security Council has gathered twice to address ways and means for the United Nations to live up to its pivotal role to build and sustain peace. This high frequency of Security Council meetings in recent months and weeks testifies to an increasing conviction that sustaining peace is a multidimensional and complex undertaking. It calls for broad partnership among security, political and development actors. It calls for bold and innovative approaches.

Three weeks ago, my predecessor and good friend Mr. Peter Wittig, Permanent Representative of Germany, addressed the Council's debate on institution-building (see S/PV.6472) and affirmed that the engagement of Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) offers a political forum necessary to facilitate among national stakeholders the development of their own prioritization for peacebuilding. While the Commission's record shows that some of these priorities may be categorized under political or security-related aspects of peacebuilding, such as security sector reform, the rule of law, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and national reconciliation, one can hardly fail to note the organic linkages of these aspects with the overarching objectives of the socio-economic transformation of the societies concerned. In fact, the questions of health, education, infrastructure development, youth employment and economic generation have been repeatedly underscored as critical peacebuilding priorities.

The facts and statistics presented earlier by the Secretary-General on the linkage between the challenges of post-conflict settings and achieving the Millennium Development Goals speak of the seriousness and urgency of the task at hand.

Peacebuilding is a term that we like to use in describing the interlinkages between security and development interventions in post-conflict situations. The Peacebuilding Commission is the unique organ of the United Nations that brings together security and development actors to promote common, integrated and mutually reinforcing approaches to building and sustaining peace. In that connection, allow me to share with the Council three points for further reflection.

First, the actions and measures designed to guide the United Nations security and development engagement with countries emerging from conflict should be conceived and put in place early enough following the cessation of hostilities, with the full participation of national stakeholders. The earlier we are able to agree on a common vision for what will sustain peace in a specific context, the more likely we will be able to ensure carefully sequenced and mutually reinforcing actions focused predominantly on security and socio-economic engagement in countries emerging from conflict.

Secondly, the Council plays an important role in fostering early and mutually reinforcing engagement on the security and development ends of the post-conflict spectrum, most prominently through mandating multidimensional peacekeeping missions. The investment we collectively make in those missions can be further optimized by encouraging coherence and more meaningful integration of efforts between missions, United Nations country teams and other development actors, including the World Bank.

(*spoke in French*)

Today's presentation on the upcoming *World Development Report* reflects the fact that the World Bank is always evolving and that it is now an essential partner of the United Nations in our joint search for lasting peace in the world. In that regard, the PBC is a flexible and inclusive political forum that can strengthen that partnership with the Bank and with other development actors on the ground. Moreover, through its various country-specific configurations, the PBC makes that partnership a crucial priority.

In reviewing the mandate, structure and configuration of peacekeeping operations, the Council can rely on the views of the Commission in optimizing the contribution of those missions to reconstruction and development. That also means ensuring that the partnership on the ground functions with greater clarity when it comes to the roles and responsibilities of security and development actors. That would help us to avoid redundancy and wasted energy, as well as to more efficiently channel the necessary resources to support development following conflict.

Thirdly, the Council should benefit from an ongoing and speedy assessment of the security situation on the ground and an awareness of elements for effective peacebuilding. An in-depth analysis of the causes and factors contributing to conflict should serve to highlight the manner in which security and development actors coordinate their efforts on the ground. In that regard, I believe that the PBC is the body best suited to carry out such a holistic analysis, in order to allow the Council to adapt its strategies on an ongoing basis and come up with realistic criteria to monitor and assess the progress made towards peacebuilding and minimize the risk of a relapse into conflict. Such an analysis would also help the Council to develop a realistic exit strategy, whether for peacekeeping or peacebuilding operations.

In conclusion, following the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission, five years ago, the United Nations as a whole now has sufficient experience as to the links and interdependence between security and development. That experience should now be translated into a resolute political commitment and concrete tailored actions on the ground. The populations of countries emerging from conflict should not be doubly affected, first by devastating conflicts and subsequently by our difficulties in harmonizing and coordinating our efforts to help them build their future. Those people deserve our collective attention. The PBC is at the Council's disposal in achieving that goal.

The President: I thank the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Ms. Sarah Cliffe.

Ms. Cliffe: I would like to thank the Government of Brazil for the opportunity to participate in this meeting and for the work of Ambassador Viotti in consistently drawing attention to security and development linkages in the discussions of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) on Guinea-Bissau. I would also like to express my gratitude for the contribution of General dos Santos Cruz in the Advisory Council of the *World Development Report*, along with that of President Kagame, Minister Amado and the many other leaders of the Member States represented here.

I want to say at the outset that, as His Excellency Mr. Gasana emphasized, we view this very much as a joint process with the United Nations. The early meetings with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Security Council and the Peacebuilding Commission, as well as the input we receive from United Nations departments, funds and programmes, have been crucial in shaping the analysis of the *World Development Report*. The main message of the *Report* is that strengthening the national institutions and governance that provide citizen security, justice and jobs are crucial to avoiding repeated cycles of violence and instability. I will touch on four issues connected to that, namely, the ways in which security and development linkages are changing, national lessons, possible directions for international policy and the urgency of the stakes.

With regard to changing security and development linkages, the *Report* highlights that there have been many successes in reducing global violence. There has been an enormous reduction in inter-State war. Civil wars, while still exacting an unacceptable toll, directly cause only one quarter of the deaths that they did 20 years ago. Much of that achievement should be credited as a success of the international architecture established after the Second World War — and subsequently adapted — including, of course, centrally, the intergovernmental bodies of the United Nations.

Yet 1.5 billion people still live in areas where violence limits their ability to live normally, to go to work and to see their children educated. However, many of those areas are no longer dominated by classic inter-State threats or civil wars between Governments and well-organized rebel movements, but by much more fluid cycles of social protest and criminal and political violence.

As the Secretary-General underlined, organized criminal movements can undermine the gains made by successful peace process, as we see in Central America. Criminal gangs can be mobilized into larger political violence during elections, as we saw in the case of Kenya. Protests over food prices or unemployment can spread into larger political unrest. The cross-border impacts of violence are considerable, from drug trafficking, which has affected even isolated West African countries, to refugee flows and terrorist attacks. Economic and political grievances often combine, as with the demand for both jobs and justice that we have seen in recent events in the Middle East and North Africa.

What are the common elements among the different ways in which security and development links are manifested? New work completed for the *World Development Report* shows that the risks of violence are highest when institutional weaknesses in societies combine with high levels of internal and external stress. Societies are vulnerable when local institutions are unable to protect their citizens from abuse, either from their own security forces or from non-Government groups, or to provide equitable access to justice and economic opportunities. Those institutional vulnerabilities can then be exacerbated when countries face the stresses of populations with a high percentage of young people, high unemployment, growing inequality, or external events such as the infiltration of foreign fighting forces, trafficking networks or economic shocks.

The specific triggers of crises vary by countries' circumstances, but the risks of both political and criminal violence are consistently linked to underlying deficits in the ability of institutions to provide security, justice and jobs. Government capacity obviously matters greatly for violence prevention, but so do accountability and the legitimacy of relations between State and society. Societies with high levels of corruption or human rights abuses, for example, face greater risks of violence in future.

The *World Development Report* draws together lessons from national reformers in preventing and recovering from violence. These have provided a number of interesting insights, which I will touch on briefly. First, successful national transformations are the result of multiple transitions, not one-off processes of change. One need only think of the multiple transitions in Ghana, in Chile, in Indonesia or in the Republic of Korea in terms of security, justice, economic policy and political reform. The *Report* has looked at the historical timelines for institutional and governance transformations. In the twentieth century, no country accomplished this in less than 12 to 15 years, and the average, for the fastest reformers, was between 20 and 30 years.

Secondly, leaders have built coalitions that are inclusive enough to restore confidence, not necessarily including all political or armed groups, but broad enough to build national support for change and provide a platform for working with local leaders in violence-affected communities.

Thirdly, producing some early results has been crucial to restoring confidence. These do not need to be many in number. I would cite, for example, Liberia's programmes to restore basic security and some electricity, and to take action on corruption, or Colombia's redeployment of the military to protect civilian transit on roads.

Fourthly, countries have made tough choices over priorities for institutional change. Experience underlines the importance of early attention to the institutions that provide basic security, justice and employment, and has shown that new initiatives can decrease corruption. Our work confirms previous analysis by the Brahimi Panel, among others, that elections, while often a crucial part of transitions, are not a panacea for broader reform. They must be part of a package of change.

Lastly, countries have historically innovated in their institutional approaches rather than copying from abroad. A focus on institutions and governance does not mean convergence on Western institutions. There are many examples demonstrating that the copying of institutions does not work, from colonial legacies to the transplant of models to Iraq. Even South-South copying does not always work smoothly. The institutions of South Africa's transition, for example, while highly effective in those political circumstances, have not always been easily adapted to circumstances in other countries.

At the national level, the *Report* also looks at a number of practical programme tools that have been used to restore confidence and transform institutions. Some lessons here are the importance of early signals on justice and inclusion that signal a break with the past but manage expectations of the timing of change; maintaining a focus on basic functions; making the connections between security and justice reform; pursuing community-based approaches, such as those supported by the United Nations Development Programme, the Department of Political Affairs and the World Bank; establishing back-to-basics job-creation programmes that give marginalized youth respect and status; and involving women in both economic empowerment and the hard areas of security and justice reform.

The *Report* describes the successes of international action, but it also highlights some areas of deficit in linking security and development assistance,

and four possible tracks for change. First, with respect to increasing capacity to support citizens' security, justice and employment, we are underinvested in those areas, although they are central to today's risks of violence. It is much harder, for example, for countries to get assistance for their police forces and their courts than for their military forces. It is much harder for them to get assistance for employment generation than for health, education or macroeconomic stability. It is much harder for countries to get assistance when they are struggling to prevent risks from rising than it is after they have had a civil war. As President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia said to us in our discussions: "After we have had a civil war, you guys provide us with all the assistance; but when we are trying to prevent it, there is very little that the international community is able to do to help".

In order to address this, we look at the potential for greatly expanded initiatives to draw together public- and private-sector investment in generating employment in insecure areas. On police and justice capacity, we note the value of a clear lead role for the United Nations, and the need for flexible capacity that links policing with courts and corrections assistance and can provide a range of advisory, executive and mandated mission functions. We also consider the need to move from talking only about coordination to combined operational support — for example, through the World Bank supporting the lead of the United Nations or regional institutions on mediated agreements and security and justice reform; or United Nations departments supporting the security and justice aspects of local economic development initiatives. Here, I would also like to reiterate what the Secretary-General said on the importance of coherence across the multilateral system and the ability, through signals from Member States, to ensure that multilateral agencies themselves have an integrated approach.

The second track of change we look at is on internal agency reforms. International assistance, whether in development aid or peacekeeping, is often too slow to enter, too quick to exit, and insufficiently able to support national institutional capacity. Our systems and procedures in the international financial institutions — but perhaps it is fair to say that the United Nations and bilateral agencies face some of the same problems — were originally designed for environments that are stable, with strong institutional capacity and competitive markets. These three conditions do not apply in the majority of the most fragile situations. There is a need to rethink how systems can be made fit for purpose to support rapid confidence-building and institutional transformation, including through faster and less volatile aid, flexible peacekeeping, long-term mediation, and developing budget, staffing and contract systems that acknowledge the reality of insecure environments.

The third track for change concerns regional approaches. International approaches are still primarily focused on individual nation-States, and they encounter difficulties in addressing regional challenges such as those in West Africa and Central America. We suggest scaling up action in two areas.

The first is to support the political convening capacities of regional institutions to address cross-border economic and security issues in concert with the global financial and technical capacities of institutions such as the United Nations and the international financial institutions. Practical examples would include supporting the African Union border programme or the needs for pooled capacity to address drug trafficking in Central America.

The second area is tougher action to stem illicit financial flows from trafficking, corruption and money-laundering. This would include action through more joint investigations and prosecutions between developed and developing country jurisdictions.

The fourth track concerns marshalling the combined resources of low-, middle- and high-income countries. I will be a little more frank here than we are in the text of the *World Development Report*.

In our country consultations, there were considerable divisions over approaches among national leaders in fragile situations, middle-income countries and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) donors. Some of those divisions were driven by disagreements over governance models — which norms of responsible leadership apply in fragile situations or situations of risk, particularly in terms of the speed of governance transformation and the models adopted, whether in the context of political reform or corruption.

Different countries face different domestic pressures related to the risks and results involved in their international programmes — a problem we call the dual accountability dilemma. It would be

presumptuous to claim to have complete answers on this issue, but three starting points can bring approaches closer.

First would be to use factual and historical evidence on the speed of governance transformations to inform dialogue. Secondly, one could draw more on South-South exchanges, but also on exchanges between the South and the North that make it explicit that OECD countries are not immune from the problems of corruption and violence and that the challenge of justice and jobs and the grievances they can provoke is a shared challenge. Last, greater leadership must be provided to regional institutions where they are well positioned to convene both high- and middle-income, non-regional partners. We suggest that the Peacebuilding Commission's unique composition may also give it unexploited potential to facilitate part of that dialogue on timetables for governance transformation.

Let me conclude on the urgency of the stakes. The impact of the failure to prevent new and repeated cycles of violence and instability is considerable. Once countries have fallen into a cycle of weak institutions and violence, it is very hard for them to get out. The economic and social impacts are immense. Civil conflict costs 30 years of growth in gross domestic product of the average developing country. No low-income, fragile or conflict-affected country has yet achieved a single Millennium Development Goal. Countries that fall into protracted conflict and fragility lag 20 percentage points behind in poverty reduction. And as recent events have shown, deficits in the institutions that provide security, justice and jobs for citizens can spur conflict not only in the most fragile States, but also in countries that were long viewed as strong and stable.

I would like to close by mentioning again the partnership between the United Nations and the World Bank in developing the *World Development Report*. It has been substantive, thoughtful, non-territorial and focused on a shared peacebuilding agenda, and we very much hope that this will continue in considering the implications for action of the *Report*.

The President: I thank Ms. Sarah Cliffe for her briefing.

I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Delegations with lengthy statements are kindly requested to circulate the texts in writing and to deliver a condensed version when speaking in the Chamber.

It is now my pleasure to give the floor to the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, His Excellency Mr. Guido Westerwelle.

Mr. Westerwelle (Germany): I would like to thank the Brazilian presidency for preparing today's debate. Also, I wish to thank the Secretary-General, Sarah Cliffe and the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission for their briefings. They have set the stage for our discussions.

Germany aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the Delegation of the European Union on behalf of the Union.

Almost 10 years ago, the United Nations Development Programme's first *Arab Human Development Report* identified three major obstacles to development in the Arab world: first, a lack of political participation, second, shortcomings in the education system, and third, disadvantages for women in society, the economy and politics. Those conclusions are still valid today.

We are witnessing turbulent times in the Middle East. The situation south of the Mediterranean Sea perfectly fits the topic of our discussion today. Egypt is a great country. The proud people of Egypt deserve to enjoy the peaceful transformation of their society. It is up to the Egyptian people to determine who will lead their country. They must be given the chance to do so now.

The people who are demonstrating in the streets of Cairo are not demanding freedom or jobs; they want both at the same time. Both belong together. People want to decide themselves how to live their lives. They want the opportunity to shape a better future. Where people have little economic perspective and cannot participate in the political life of their country, that does not contribute to stability. On the contrary, repression of political participation, human rights and economic freedom will lead to instability. What the international community can do is to offer its support for democratic transition. Germany is ready to cooperate. Europe has offered a partnership for transformation. We are ready to give life to our offer.

Progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals has been especially slow in fragile or conflict-ridden countries. No fragile or conflict-affected country has yet achieved one of the Millennium Development Goals. Because peace and security and development are inseparable, this discussion constitutes an essential part of our work here in the Security Council. Human rights are key to human dignity. They are the third element in the equation. Peace and security, development and human rights together shape a world worth living in.

Almost all conflicts illustrate the extent to which these three elements are interlinked. Let me give some examples.

In Afghanistan, it has never been enough to look at the conflict with an eye only on security. In that country, devastated by decades of war, development is urgent. That is the reason why we invest in developing the local economy and support creating a civilian future for the people.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the abundant natural resources should provide an income for the local population and reliable taxes for public tasks. Instead, we are witnessing some of the most abhorrent crimes of our time. Sanctions and peacekeeping alone cannot solve those problems. We need to invest more, and more intelligently, to achieve peace. That is why Germany supports projects for the certification of mineral resources. The economy of the entire region will also benefit from our ongoing efforts to rebuild the Goma airport.

Through the referendum in the Sudan, the people have voiced their choice in an impressive manner. I commend the authorities of the Sudan for publicly accepting the outcome of the referendum. Now we need to prepare for the post-referendum process and for Southern Sudan's independence. Germany stands ready to assist and to counsel both sides, North and South. We need both sides to be stable and to continue on the road to democracy and economic progress.

Germany encourages the Security Council to address the issue of peacebuilding as early as possible. The idea of peacebuilding should guide our work when we mandate, extend or downsize peacekeeping operations. In that regard, the Peacebuilding Commission, which my country has had the honour to chair, can provide valuable advice to the Security Council.

Development always has to do with institutional frameworks. Development presupposes a fair and efficient tax system. Respect for the rule of law is decisive. Development requires independent judges and a reliable police force. Development needs a public sector without corruption and as little red tape as possible. But, in the end, these institutional frameworks alone do not lead to the creation of jobs; business does. Development depends on an active private sector. On the one hand, we need to empower private actors so that they can create opportunities for a better future. On the other hand, business success brings with it responsibility. Businesses should commit to aligning their operations and strategies with the principles of the United Nations Global Compact in the areas of human rights, labour, the environment and the fight against corruption.

Every conflict is unique. There is no one-size-fits-all-approach. In some cases climate change may be a serious obstacle to development, and thus may become a major cause of conflict. In other cases other factors may be more decisive. In all stages of the process of building peace, signing peace agreements and introducing development programmes we need a stronger role for women and greater protection of children and their rights. The Security Council needs to look at every specific case on its own merits.

Germany is and will continue to be a reliable partner when it comes to safeguarding peace and promoting development. This will not change. We will live up to our responsibilities.

The President: I now give the floor to Her Excellency Ms. Maria Ángela Holguín Cuéllar, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia.

Ms. Holguín Cuéllar (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February, as well as to thank you for convening this thematic debate on the interdependence between security and development and for circulating the document that serves as the basis for the discussion of this matter (S/2011/50).

I also convey my thanks to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for being here today and for his statement, as well as to the Chairperson of the Peace Building Commission and Ms. Sarah Cliffe, representative from the World Bank, for their reports on their respective areas of responsibility.

We take note of the thematic continuation with regard to the recent debate on institution building (see S/PV.6472) held at the initiative of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Recent United Nations reports give accounts of the transformations that are being seen in the activities of peacekeeping operations on the ground. Police forces and civilian experts are participating ever more frequently and in greater numbers. This trend shows that activities of a strictly military nature are not enough in themselves to take on the task of achieving sustainable peace.

In making the Peacebuilding Commission operational, the Security Council recognized that development, peace and security were interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Likewise, it agreed on the need to take a coordinated, coherent and integrated approach to peacebuilding.

Today's debate on the interdependence between security and development in the context of the responsibilities and situations under the purview of the Security Council is important for establishing the need to consider ways to mainstream or give greater weight to the development dimension in peacekeeping operations.

We must not lose sight of the fact that peacebuilding, as a long-term objective, is a cross-cutting task that must start in the early phases of peacekeeping. This is supported by the need to provide long-term solutions, ensure the sustainability and strengthening of democratic institutions, promote the well-being of the population and prevent cycles of dependence that discourage development.

In that regard, when drafting mandates, the Council could place greater emphasis on the strengthening of coordination activities and structures that have a high impact on the development of national capacities. Such activities are not new in the context of peacekeeping operations. Activities aimed at the strengthening of security institutions, the judicial system and the rule of law, institutional provisions for the protection of civilians and those aimed at disarmament, demobilization and reintegration already play a substantive role in laying the foundations for development. For example, promoting working methods for local employment recovery or adopting business programmes that build on social organization, with an immediate emphasis on women and youth, can be seen as options that do not conflict with peacekeeping goals.

Adequate coordination on development activities among United Nations agencies present on the ground is essential. The Council could adjust peacekeeping operation mandates to address issues in this area and avoid valuable long-term development going to waste.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General could, in each case, act as a coordinator between peacekeeping and peacebuilding tasks. As part of such a coordination effort, the President of the Security Council could establish a strategic dialogue on specific areas of concern with the Peacebuilding Commission, and through it with the World Bank and other actors.

It is clear that the Council is not the body to make decisions regarding development. Nevertheless, we must not ignore that its decisions have an impact on the long-term development of countries and that this is a fundamental component of any sustainable peace, which is the preeminent purpose set out in the Charter of the United Nations: to protect future generations from the scourge of war.

The Council could therefore benefit, in its activities related to peacekeeping, from the practice and doctrine of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, as well as from the lessons learned from the work of the Peacebuilding Commission. The presence of seven members of the Commission in the Security Council could serve as a bridge for establishing greater communication and consultation on development best practices.

We understand that not all members of the Council have the same financial means. This should not become an obstacle to finding mechanisms that offer long-term solutions. After 65 years of existence, the United Nations must be able to provide for the configuration of comprehensive mechanisms to promote peacebuilding.

The United Nations of the twenty-first century will be relevant as long it responds to the development needs of great sections of the world population. In this regard, it is imperative that the activities of its main organs effect real change, make a meaningful contribution to the well-being of populations and have a genuine impact on situations that have been on their agendas for decades.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Sven Alkalaj, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. Alkalaj (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I would like to commend you, Minister Patriota, for convening this meeting to discuss such an important topic. My appreciation also goes to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Ms. Sarah Cliffe of the World Bank and His Excellency Mr. Eugène-Richard Gasana, Chairperson of the Peacebuilding Commission, for their insightful remarks.

It is our view that the objectives of security and development go hand in hand, which means that security is a prerequisite for development. Discussions about security therefore lead us inevitably to a discussion of development, indicating an inherent link between these two issues. Improvements in one area enhance the chances of progress in the other, while failure to provide either security or development could jeopardize success in both fields.

Various dimensions of development and security are interconnected and mutually reinforcing, which suggests that the link between them requires a coordinated approach. It is therefore important to have a clear understanding of the mechanisms that govern the security-development nexus. That nexus also calls for a reassessment of the boundaries between those two issues. At the core of the matter is the ability to contribute on the ground to conflict prevention and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to sustainable peace.

The peacebuilding process entails overlapping agendas for peace and development aimed at preventing and managing conflicts and encouraging post-conflict reconstruction. The United Nations has a central role in promoting such agendas. In order to address the deep-rooted causes of violent conflicts, new and innovative approaches must be found to generate resources for conflict prevention and peacebuilding. In addition, the various actors within the United Nations system must seek out the best possible ways to contribute to their common purpose of development and security.

It is crucial to extend assistance to countries in a wide range of sectors, including governance, human rights, justice, reconciliation, demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration, as well as security sector reform. Assistance programmes in those areas should be sensitive to the connection between development and security agendas. It is also important that strategies regarding security and development are integrated and implemented alongside the other priorities in a coherent peacebuilding framework.

Security sector reform and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, as parts of comprehensive peacebuilding strategies, can be successfully implemented only in an environment that offers economic opportunity and favours development. When early peace dividends are evident and accepted, the security sector is well-managed and democratic norms are in place, opportunities for development are present in the true sense.

Weak national institutions, whether they are in the political, security or development domains, can increase the risk of a relapse into conflict. Bosnia and Herzegovina believes that one way of addressing the security-development link is to focus on building and strengthening institutions that are indispensable to security and development. That issue was the topic of our thematic debate held in the Security Council last month (see S/PV.6472).

Governments and societies need proper funding and assistance in consolidating their efforts to provide security for their populations and to improve economic conditions. Much has been achieved through the United Nations peacebuilding architecture and the activities of the Peacebuilding Commission and the Peacebuilding Fund. Yet, more remains to be done.

With regard to the donor community, it is essential to establish better cooperation between donors and international financial institutions. United Nations agencies and international organizations need more specialized expertise in areas such as natural resource management and wealth-sharing. They must also coordinate their efforts towards achieving meaningful results and adjust their responses to the specific situation in a given country. A well-implemented and integrated strategy on the parts of agencies, funds and international financial institutions can significantly increase prospects for the success of efforts to ensure peace and security.

With all of that in mind, Bosnia and Herzegovina emphasizes the importance of an integrated, comprehensive and coordinated approach that includes the establishment of good governance, the rule of law, the promotion of human rights, institution-building,

security sector reform, economic reconstruction and development in order to achieve irreversible peace. Furthermore, we firmly believe that particular emphasis should be placed on empowering women and on their greater involvement in peacebuilding efforts, including in development processes.

Finally, we are fully aware that the Security Council is not responsible for making decisions directly related to the issue of development. However, we believe that the Council can and should contribute through its work to the transformation of post-conflict settings into environments that foster long-term development. Given the correlation between security and development and the Council's primary role in maintaining international peace and security, it is safe to say that this body already invests significant efforts to that end. Nevertheless, in the course of its deliberations, the Security Council should also endeavour to address development issues with the attention they warrant, in order to ensure a smooth and effective transition to lasting and sustainable peace.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Luís Filipe Marques Amado, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

Mr. Amado (Portugal): Let me congratulate Brazil on its presidency of the Council. Let me also thank you, Sir, for the organization of this debate and the concept paper (see S/2011/50) that was distributed beforehand. Allow me to also thank the Secretary-General for his statement, as well as Ms. Sarah Cliffe and Ambassador Gasana for their contributions to this debate.

As this is the first time that I have the privilege to address the Security Council, permit me to forgo reading out the text that has been circulated and instead share with the Council some reflections related to the problem being debated today.

I would like first of all to make a general remark on the situation we face globally. We live in times of change and deep transformations. I think that we are living in one of those periods when history suddenly accelerates and human reason has difficulty keeping up with, adapting and responding to the situations created by that speeding up of history.

In such a time, we have to assume our particular responsibilities. We act as politicians and, in this particular place, we have that responsibility. As the great recession of 2009 showed, we are in the midst of a huge process of transformation, of restructuring of the global economy and of change in the distribution of resources and wealth all over the world, as well as a rebalancing of power among nations and among regions. Peace processes have a huge geopolitical impact, which we cannot ignore. I think we are also in the midst of a long, complex, difficult and very dangerous process of reconfiguration of the geopolitical order. I think that the Security Council will be at the centre of that process, and we have to assume that responsibility.

To control that process and avoid a global confrontation, we need to address every tension, conflict and situation of unrest with particular sensitivity and, more than ever, collective commitment. That is why I completely concur with Guido Westerwelle's remarks about the determining role that the Peacebuilding Commission has to play in the context of the United Nations system.

I think that we also need to address the different situations that we face all over the world in a more comprehensive way. In that regard, we certainly also need to address the interdependence of the political, security and development dimensions with a comprehensive approach. We need to address the complexities of these situations, which are really vital in managing the difficulties that we need to manage.

The timing in choosing this issue for our debate is also appropriate from the perspective of the global challenges that we face, with which we need to deal in a more comprehensive way. And to do that the political, security and development dimensions have to be addressed in an appropriate way.

At the end of the 1990s, I served as Development Minister, and during that time I saw how difficult it was to conciliate the security and political dimensions with development policy. On the ground, it was always difficult not only to coordinate, but also to promote interaction among the security, military and development sectors. There were many preconceived ideas among the various agencies on the ground.

Fortunately, it seems that those times have passed. There has been a long-standing debate within the United Nations, mainly on how to manage conflicts in Africa, and a comprehensive process is evolving. I think it is also important in today's debate to have had the opportunity to listen to Sarah Cliffe from the World

Bank. I had the privilege of participating in some sessions in the preparation of that very important report, which I believe for the first time will address all these issues in the comprehensive way needed to face today's reality.

Finally, I would like to make the following point on what is happening in the Middle East. Minister Westerwelle addressed the Council on this particular issue, but I would also like to stress this point. Given the dynamic of the events flourishing there, it is our fundamental responsibility to manage the geopolitical tension between war and peace. I would like to add to what Mr. Westerwelle said.

More than ever, we need a very comprehensive approach to the realities of the Middle East. It is a mistake to look at the conflict, unrest and tension in a fragmented way. If we do not address them in the next couple of months or years in a comprehensive way, interlinking the political, security and development challenges of the region, I would say that we will be facing a tragic situation. I am sure that the Security Council will have to play a much more difficult role if we are not able to handle these situations, as I said, in a more comprehensive way, engaging the whole of the international community, including the Security Council.

The President: I now call on the Minister of External Affairs of India, His Excellency Mr. S. M. Krishna.

Mr. Krishna (India): I would like at the outset to congratulate Brazil, and in particular Minister Antonio Patriota, for their work in their presidency of the Security Council, and to praise their timely initiative of convening a debate on a theme that is of topical interest to every one of us. On a more personal note, allow me to express my profound satisfaction regarding the happy coincidence of having two members of the community of Portuguese-speaking countries, Brazil and Portugal, together here today.

There is broad international consensus regarding the linkages between security and development. Indeed, without security and stability, it is impossible to implement effective poverty reduction strategies and to pursue internationally agreed development objectives, including the Millennium Development Goals.

Without sustainable economic and social development, it will always be difficult to create the conditions for long-lasting peace and security. In this context, the situations of conflict and social instability that persist worldwide are proof positive that we are still at the beginning of a long and complex process of readapting our current response structures and mechanisms. This is a task that requires coordinated and complementary action between the United Nations and other organizations of the international system.

I am pleased to recognize that the integrated peacekeeping missions of the United Nations are the visible face of the effort to respond to this enormous challenge. The United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste is proof that an operation that unequivocally binds security and development is also one that guarantees that our efforts can produce positive effects, at both the institutional and the civic levels. The European Union is also responding in this manner in coordination with the United Nations.

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, said that "poverty is the worst form of violence". The Charter of the United Nations, recognizing that violence and the lack of development are interrelated, commits the United Nations to promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

The international community, over the past two decades, has invested a large amount of human and material capital in peacekeeping operations and peacebuilding initiatives. Our collective experience in dealing with these conflicts shows that without peace, development suffers. At the same time, the lack of development and prospects for economic progress creates fertile ground for violence and instability, which further set back development.

The unevenness of the development process and the disparities prevailing on a regional, national, and global scale feed into a vicious cycle. Our efforts should therefore focus on promoting development for all by encouraging economic activity and enhancing livelihood security.

India brings to this table almost 60 years of experience in overcoming many of the challenges of transforming a colonial legacy into a modern dynamic nation of a billion people who are trying to meet their aspirations within a democratic system dedicated to the rule of law. India has taken significant steps designed to accelerate the range and depth of welfare and social justice programmes. In recent years, they include the assurance of 100 days of employment to every person

living in rural areas, the enactment of the Right to Information Act to help our citizens to become more aware, the right to education to help every Indian share in the benefits of the country's economic progress and also to contribute to it, and the initiative for reservation for women in Parliament and in state legislatures to ensure equal partnership of women in our progress and the increase in reservation for women to 50 per cent in local bodies.

Development has to be accompanied by inclusivity and tolerance. In that context, I quote the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh:

> "The goal of the development process must be to include every last member of our society, particularly those who are at the margins. This not only broadens the support base for development, it also strengthens the Government's ability to perform its core developmental roles."

The lessons of inclusivity can also be applied to international efforts in the maintenance of peace and security. The process of implementing a peace agreement must run along with the provision of humanitarian and emergency assistance, resumption of economic activity and the creation of political and administrative institutions that improve governance and include all stakeholders, particularly the weak and the underprivileged.

We are greatly encouraged by the African Union's efforts to develop post-conflict reconstruction capacities. The success of the New Partnership for Africa's Development — NEPAD — and the African Peer Review Mechanism has lessons that are relevant to national ownership.

The international community needs to ensure a predictable and enhanced flow of resources. It is instructive to note that the United Nations peacekeeping budget, which is about $8 billion annually, is more than the combined budgets of the United Nations Development Programme and UNICEF. It is obvious that development expenditures need to be enhanced greatly if they are to make a dent on security problems. We also need to ensure that collective security mechanisms intersect with our collective efforts for economic progress to mitigate the causes of persistent insecurity at a global level.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi once said that "A nation's strength ultimately consists in what it can do on its own, and not in what it can borrow from others". The international community can encourage, motivate and facilitate. It cannot impose solutions. The temptation to create a new orthodoxy, of talking down rather than of listening, must be avoided at all costs.

No country has contributed as many peacekeepers to as many peacekeeping operations as India. Our peacekeepers have been early peacebuilders. We are also committed to contribute, bilaterally and multilaterally, to development initiatives. To that end, we are working through the IBSA — India, Brazil and South Africa — mechanism, with the African Union and with regional African groupings to promote South-South perspectives on development and security.

The international structure for maintaining peace and security and peacebuilding needs to be reformed. Global powers and the capacities to address problems are much more dispersed than they were six decades ago. The current framework must address these realities.

We understand the expectations that accompany our Council membership. We are acutely conscious of the need for effective coordination between the Permanent Five and the elected members, especially those whose credentials for permanent membership stand acknowledged. On issues concerning international peace and security, all of us are on the same page. I am happy to note that this process of closer cooperation is making headway.

I would like to conclude by reaffirming India's commitment to making its vast experience in more than six decades of nation-building available to global efforts towards greater development and improved security.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Paul Bunduku-Latha, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of Gabon.

Mr. Bunduku-Latha (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): Allow me first of all to pay tribute to you, Mr. President, and to your country, Brazil, for the initiative of holding this ministerial debate on the interdependence between security and development in the framework of the maintenance of international peace and security.

On behalf of the delegation of Gabon and its Government, I wish to thank His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, the Secretary-General, for his steady commitment to peace and development in the world. I

also wish to thank my friend, Mr. Eugene-Richard Gasana, Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission, for his statement, and Ms. Sarah Cliffe for the quality of her report on conflicts and for the relevance of her statement.

The end of the cold war announced a new era of international peace and security, but since then new forms of conflict have appeared. Those new conflicts have taken the form of internal crises to which are added threats to peace and security such as terrorism, drugs, international organized crime and the proliferation of small arms.

In that context, we wish to point out that during his term of office President Omar Bongo Ondimba spared no effort in devoting himself, through diverse mediation efforts, to resolving conflicts in the subregion of Central Africa and the Great Lakes. The success of his action was based on a consistent method of constant encouragement of dialogue, tolerance and peace. Moreover, Gabon, with its counterparts in Central Africa, has contributed to setting up instruments to prevent and resolve conflicts and build peace.

Following the same lines, the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Ali Bongo Ondimba, is continuing the work of his illustrious predecessor. In that regard, his social programme, based on the triad of peace, development and sharing, remains the perfect illustration of the inseparable link between security and development. It is illusory to imagine development without solidarity. Likewise, no State can achieve development without taking the concepts of peace and security into account.

As Pope Paul VI once stated, the new name of peace is development. This is therefore the opportunity to underscore that it is in the best interest of States to support social cohesion by promoting the well-being of populations and policies conducive to strengthening basic infrastructure and improving living conditions.

Indeed, the populations of the world aspire not only to live in peace and security, but also to a prosperous existence through their active participation in the economic and social development of their nations. The unemployment of young people, shortcomings in the education and heath-care systems, and the absence of economic prospects and a reliable social security can become destabilizing factors in the long term. Equally disturbing, in many countries terrorism continues to feed on the distress of populations and today is one of the greatest threats to international peace and security.

Recent events clearly show the extent to which insecurity can give rise to demands for deep-seated social and political change. Thus, in many countries, we have seen hunger strikes degenerate into popular uprisings with destabilizing effects on peace and security.

Security and development are not therefore only requirements, but remain closely linked and are two sides of the same reality. In that regard, if we accept that poverty or the absence of development is the cause of conflicts, we can also assert that wide-spread destitution significantly increases the risks of instability and violence. Furthermore, while crises and violence alone do not explain the absence of economic and social development in nations, nevertheless they hinder development.

On behalf of the Government of Gabon, I am therefore delighted to note that the topic chosen here, the interdependence between security and development in the maintenance of international peace and security, is in line with the policy advocated by President Ali Bongo Ondimba, who also attaches particular importance to issues regarding the improvement of the status of women, widows, orphans and people with disabilities, the fight against pandemics and the environment. In parallel, good governance, social justice, the rule of law, respect for national laws and human rights, freedom of expression, pluralistic democracy, the fight against corruption, as well as the acceptance of the results of free and transparent elections, are certainly essential factors for stable States and dynamic development.

With regard to State ownership in post-conflict situations, the conclusions of the debate on institution-building of 21 January, under the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, (see S/PV.6472), stressed its importance. Indeed, national ownership of the peace process is essential to restoring security and promoting development. The restoration of such States will be even more sustainable if it is based on the capacities of their populations and on the credibility of their institutions. Moreover, such States must ensure the effective control over their natural resources, since the illegal exploitation and trade of such resources hinder development and peace.

My delegation remains convinced of the need to include in political processes all national actors, public and private, including civil society. Likewise, close cooperation among all national and international actors is essential to the successful efforts of our States. That is why we are convinced that better coordination among all bodies of the United Nations system will enable States to achieve the economic and social development crucial to lasting peace.

Security and development are two concepts that share close dynamic links, both conceptually and in practice. One aims to increase the freedom of choice, while the other allows those choices to be made in a secure environment. It would therefore seem crucial for the United Nations to give a more central role to conflict prevention in their international policy and security strategy. Our debate today shares that logic. That is why my country, Gabon, remains firmly committed to conflict prevention as the preferred instrument to promote harmonious peace, security and development among nations.

Finally, before concluding, allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for the draft presidential statement submitted for adoption and for which I reiterate my delegation's support.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of South Africa.

Mr. Sangqu (South Africa): We wish to congratulate the delegation of Brazil for organizing this debate on the maintenance of international peace and security focusing on interdependence between security and development. We welcome His Excellency Minister Antonio Patriota to the Council, and are pleased to see him presiding over this meeting. We acknowledge the presence and participation of the Foreign Ministers of India, Germany, Colombia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Portugal, and the Vice Minister of Gabon at this meeting. Unfortunately, my Foreign Minister, Ms. Nkoana-Mashabane, could not be with us today. She sends her best wishes, and is confident of the positive outcomes of this meeting.

We also thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, the Chairman of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) His Excellency Mr. Eugène-Richard Gasana, Permanent Representative of Rwanda, and the World Bank Special Representative, Ms. Cliffe, for their informative contributions.

We thank the delegation of Brazil for its concept paper for this debate (S/2011/50, annex). My delegation will focus on five key areas, namely, the changing nature of conflicts and the nexus between security and development, the role of regional organizations, South-South cooperation, integrated approaches, and resource mobilization and coordination.

Since 1945, the United Nations has been seized with the task and responsibility of addressing the critical issues of peace, security, human rights and development within the framework of the Organization's Charter.

The United Nations report "In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all", highlighted that:

> "Not only are development, security and human rights all imperative; they also reinforce each other ... [W]e will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights. Unless all these causes are advanced, none will succeed". (*A/59/2005, paras. 16 and 17*)

In that context, South Africa is convinced that peace and stability in the world will remain elusive if we do not address the nexus between security and development. As a result of that conviction, we see our own development as inextricably linked to the peace and security of the southern African region, the African continent and the rest of the world.

The nature of contemporary conflicts reveals that such conflicts are, to a large extent, precipitated by dispute-related economic development issues, including access to mineral resources, the disproportionate distribution of wealth and power, bad governance, the lack of people's participation in democratic processes, and corruption, to mention but a few. In the context of Africa, the illegal exploitation of natural resources has contributed to the fuelling of conflicts. As a consequence of that reality, it is important to assist countries emerging from conflict to manage and redistribute the revenues derived from those resources in a manner that enhances people's livelihoods.

Consideration of the interdependence of security and development in the work of the Security Council

on the maintenance of international peace and security does not necessarily mean the Council taking over the developmental functions undertaken by other bodies within the United Nations system. It simply means that the Council should take social and development issues into account in relevant deliberations within its Charter mandate.

South Africa is of the view that it is vital to integrate developmental aspects in international efforts in the areas of conflict prevention, resolution and management and post-conflict peacebuilding. In that regard, we welcome the efforts of the United Nations interdepartmental Framework Team on Early Warning and Prevention and the ongoing review of the Economic and Social Council.

We also welcome the work of other members of the international community, including the international financial institutions, in particular the World Bank, as important and critical partners in sustaining peace efforts with development in countries emerging from conflicts. Equally, we emphasize the importance of context-specific and nationally owned interventions, such as the poverty reduction strategies.

In addition, the international private sector and institutions should be involved in development efforts to reinvigorate the lives of the populace by providing jobs, especially for vulnerable groups, such as young people and demobilized and demilitarized armed groups, in an attempt to create sustainable livelihoods. In this connection, the importance of building sustainable social safety systems cannot be overemphasized.

Development requires a significant amount of resources that most post-conflict countries do not have. In light of this fact, we encourage the international community to make available sufficient, timely and predictable resources for post-conflict peacebuilding and development programmes.

The establishment of the PBC in 2005 was a recognition of the need to fill the gap between peacekeeping and peacebuilding, thus complementing the interdependence between security and development. Similarly, we welcome the recognition by the Security Council of the link between peace, security and development, which is reflected in the integrated approaches to peacekeeping today. In this context, we appreciate the fact that some United Nations peacekeeping and political missions, including the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and others, have civilian components that are structured under development and security pillars.

The Council is unified in welcoming the outcome of the historic Southern Sudan referendum. The international community should be cognizant of the huge development needs of a new, independent South Sudan. A future successor mission to the United Nations Mission in the Sudan will have to incorporate a strong element of State-, institution- and capacity-building in its mandate, while addressing issues of security, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and security sector reform, among others.

South Africa also calls for a strengthened and enhanced cooperation and information-sharing between the Security Council and other United Nations bodies, such as the PBC, the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Development Programme, aimed at concretizing the crucial interdependence between security and development. My delegation strongly supports the call for greater coherence, coordination and interaction between various United Nations organs and agencies.

We encourage the Council to seize the opportunity and make optimum use of the advisory role of the PBC in relation to socio-economic and other peacebuilding matters. We also encourage close coordination between all stakeholders, including the inclusion of women and civil society in peacebuilding and development issues.

Regional and subregional organizations have a crucial role to play in efforts aimed at promoting the nexus between security and development. The African Union (AU) has, over the years, shown commitment to resolving African conflicts and promoting socio-economic development on the continent. In this context, the stabilization of Africa needs to be anchored in concrete socio-economic development programmes. The AU has adopted the New Partnership for Africa's Development as a key mechanism for the achievement of this socio-economic development paradigm.

Further, the AU has adopted a post-conflict, reconstruction and development programme as one tool to promote reconstructive development programmes in countries emerging from conflict and to offer peace dividends that hold better hope for anchoring peace

and stability. The creation of regional economic communities at the subregional level and the development of conflict-resolution mechanisms within these structures are crucial steps towards sustainable peace through sustainable economic development.

South Africa continues to work through bilateral, trilateral and multilateral forums towards the advancement of development as a long-term measure for preventing conflicts. Within the South-South realm, the India, Brazil and South Africa mechanism plays an important development role through projects in Haiti, Palestine, Guinea-Bissau, Burundi and Sierra Leone, among other countries. Additionally, South Africa is currently in the process of establishing a South African development partnership agency, which will play a significant role in supporting socio-economic and human resource development in the countries of the South, particularly in Africa, including through trilateral cooperation with the countries of the North.

In conclusion, my delegation supports the adoption of the draft presidential statement on this crucial topic at the end of this meeting. We hope that today's debate will highlight the importance of development aspects in dealing with conflict situations that the Council is seized with, and thus enhance the work of this body.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of China.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I wish to thank Brazil for its initiative to convene this open debate on the important issue of the interdependence between security and development. I welcome the presence of His Excellency Foreign Minister Patriota in the Council Chamber to preside over this meeting.

I thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Ambassador Gasana, Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), and Ms. Cliffe, Special Representative of the World Bank, for their statements.

Security and development are interlinked and mutually reinforcing. Security is a prerequisite for development, and development is possible only in a peaceful and stable environment. Development is a guarantee of security. Sustainable peace is possible only through the maintenance of development momentum. The maintenance of peace and the promotion of development are important, Charter-driven mandates of the United Nations. The Security Council must attach great importance to the nexus between security and development. I wish to emphasize the following five points.

First, we must increase input into development and eradicate the sources of conflict. Poverty and underdevelopment are the major root causes that trigger conflict and breed terrorism. The international community, and the United Nations in particular, must place greater emphasize on promoting the international development agenda. Developed countries must further increase their development assistance, provide debt relief to developing countries, open their markets, transfer technology, and help developing countries to achieve the Millennium Development Goals as soon as possible.

Secondly, development must be anchored in environments free of war and turbulence. The United Nations and the Security Council should vigourously promote the culture of peace and encourage and support the peaceful settlement of disputes through dialogue, consultation, good offices and mediation. The use or threat of use of force must be avoided in international relations.

Thirdly, greater emphasis must be placed on peacebuilding so as to prevent relapses into conflict. In post-conflict countries or regions, progress must be made simultaneously on the political, security and development fronts throughout the development and reconstruction process. Capacity-building efforts must be expedited in post-conflict countries in order to enhance governance, provide basic services and advance development and reconstruction so that the population can enjoy peace dividends at the earliest opportunity. That will help to consolidate the political reconciliation process and to stabilize post-conflict situations. United Nations peacekeeping operations can make greater contributions to early recovery, development and reconstruction.

Fourthly, relevant United Nations agencies and international organizations responsible for security and development must enhance their coordination and form synergies. The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, but in strengthening peacebuilding and development the PBC, the United Nations development agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions must play their roles to the full.

Fifthly, the United Nations and the Security Council should pay greater attention to Africa. Seventy per cent of the items on the Council's agenda involve Africa. The interconnections between peace and development are most pronounced in Africa. There can be no international prosperity or stability without peace and development in Africa. The international community must provide greater support to Africa's development and greater assistance to individual African countries, the African Union and other regional and subregional organizations in order to maintain peace and security in Africa.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of Nigeria.

Mrs. Ogwu (Nigeria): My first words must be to thank the Brazilian presidency for the choice of theme for this debate. Since the 1992 Rio Summit, Brazil has demonstrated undisputed leadership on the question of security and development. We believe that leadership remains strong as we prepare for the 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development. The Council has often called for an integrated approach to issues of peace, security and development. This debate takes us a step closer to realizing that aspiration.

I also want to thank the Secretary-General for his useful briefing, as well as Ms. Cliffe for the insight she has provided on this complex and multi-faceted issue. I also welcome and thank my colleague Ambassador Gasana for his significant contribution.

Although development is not strictly within the scope of the Security Council's remit, we recognize not only the inextricable linkage but also the interdependence between security and development. Our work, whether it relates to peacekeeping, peacebuilding or preventive diplomacy, does not and should not operate within a vacuum. In his 2005 report entitled "In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all" (A/59/2005), then Secretary-General Kofi Annan told us, as the South African Ambassador has already pointed out, that we would not enjoy development without security, we would not enjoy security without development and we would not enjoy either without respect for human rights. At the 2005 World Summit, our leaders stressed the need to translate that conceptual understanding into concrete actions in the field and in the Security Council — which, I must point out, is well-placed to promote that process. In championing development efforts in tandem with activities related directly to peace and security, we in fact further our conflict-prevention objectives, which go to the very core of our Charter obligations.

The draft presidential statement before us today recognizes that allowing space for national actors to determine security and development priorities early enough will no doubt ensure sustained goodwill and sustained impact alike. It is our duty to remember that, in securing any society, we are but one actor among many committed to the long-term stability of that nation.

That long-term perspective is crucial, as guarding against a relapse into conflict preserves the gains from development, which are frequently among the first casualties of war. Indeed, the complementarity between security and development can also lead to more efficient deployment of efforts and resources towards achieving development and security. Moreover, by standing on points of principle such as the full participation of women in peace and governance processes, the provision of youth employment and the promotion of human rights we can assist a society emerging from conflict in achieving lasting peace. Our work here in the Council is very pivotal to strengthening Governments, civil society and the private sector in readiness for an orderly transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding and, ultimately, to a timely exit and the sustenance of peace.

Although the task of maintaining a peaceful and just society is the primary responsibility of national Governments, the expertise that the United Nations system can provide to societies at a tipping point can make an immense difference. I wish to highlight the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) as a key interlocutor in that regard. Sierra Leone is a concrete example of how the PBC can bring all relevant international and national actors together to settle upon a long-term peacebuilding strategy. The momentum following last year's PBC review must not be lost. It is our sincere hope that the Security Council will have a stronger relationship with the PBC.

Many developing countries, including those experiencing recent unrest, are home to large youth populations that place pressure on already strained labour markets, which is a point well made in the concept note to the World Bank's 2011 *World Development Report*. Such problems are exacerbated

by the march of globalization, which has not only increased overall global wealth but has also led to more uneven distribution of wealth within countries, regions and the world as a whole. The challenges of the security-development paradigm are starkly in evidence in Somalia, for example, where it is widely recognized that youth unemployment, poverty and weak governance are the major contributing factors in the persistent piracy problem. Development activities can help to rehabilitate economies, thereby playing a critical conflict-prevention role. It is therefore important that United Nations agencies directly engaged in development possess the resources and political backing to be effective.

Nigeria takes very seriously its responsibility to facilitate peace through development. In 2009, 0.7 million units of account of debt relief under the Nigeria Trust Fund was approved for Burundi and Togo. Easing fiscal pressure in that way may create room for home-grown development activities. In addition, within the Economic Community of West African States, we have provided enormous support to Guinea-Bissau and other members in diverse ways, including concessionary sales of crude oil. Those measures are aimed at promoting subregional economic integration as the bedrock for lasting peace in our subregion.

The Security Council has the challenge and opportunity to promote security policies that integrate development in order to progressively rid humankind of the scourge of war. Through our work in that regard we can help countries avoid conflict altogether and reap the benefits of development. All peoples deserve freedom from want as well as freedom from violence. Development is therefore in itself freedom. However, if we fail to recognize the impact that our policies have on a society's path to development and larger freedom, I submit that we leave our task only half done.

Let me emphasize that the consideration of the development-security paradigm in the Council today should by no means be regarded as an attempt to duplicate the work of either the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council. Rather, it provides the missing political link that is so essential to promoting synergy in the United Nations partnership for peace, security and development. In supporting the call for a new security consensus based on the interdependence of security and development, we must recognize that development is indeed a foundation for peace. We hope that the Council will build on today's debate to harness its role in helping countries transition from war to irreversible and sustained peace. That is a plea for genuine cooperation, and indeed an appeal to make good on our commitment to deliver as one in the United Nations family.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the United States.

Mrs. DiCarlo (United States of America): The United States would like to express its appreciation to you, Mr. President, for organizing today's meeting on this important issue. We would also like to thank the Secretary-General, Ambassador Gasana and Ms. Cliffe for their thoughtful remarks.

The links between security and development are complex but compelling. Stalled development and violent conflict deal a double blow to far too many people and countries. Conflict and violence impoverish and severely undermine development gains through displacement, disease and desperation. While there has been an unparalleled drop in global poverty in recent years, countries devastated by conflict and violence have been left out of that trend. The statistics are stark, as we understand from the World Bank's and other recent studies. A person from a country in conflict, compared to one from any other developing country, is more than twice as likely to be undernourished; more than three times as likely to be unable to send her children to school; twice as likely to see her children die before they reach the age of five and twice as likely to lack access to clean water. And no low-income, conflict-affected country is on track to meet a single Millennium Development Goal.

Poverty and the lack of economic opportunities also contribute to violence, as President Obama said at the Millennium Development summit last September (see A/65/PV.9). When millions of fathers cannot provide for their families, it feeds the despair that can fuel instability and violent extremism. We have heard today that combating both poverty and conflict requires us to prioritize core State capacities, especially the rule of law, justice and security, and to create jobs and immediate economic opportunities. We have also heard about the need to bring women into decision-making on key political, security and economic issues.

The United States could not agree more. We see these issues at play in almost every conflict situation before the Council. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, one of the chief priorities of the United Nations

Organization Stabilization Mission is to help strengthen the justice sector through training Congolese police officers and supporting magistrates in courts. In Liberia, we strongly supported the Government's attention to rural electrification as a key confidence-building measure, and also welcomed the Peacebuilding Commission's support for Monrovia's initial efforts to improve rural communities' access to trained police and magistrates. In Afghanistan, we have urged for international efforts to focus on reviving the country's once-vibrant agricultural sector, in order to create sustained economic alternatives to narcotics production. In Haiti, the United Nations Stabilization Mission has done important work with the Haitian national police to build community confidence and strengthen the rule of law. We have urged consistently that attention be paid to building core national capacities because we see that, until the basic infrastructure of peace is in place, countries will be blocked from progress.

Twenty years ago we were just beginning to understand the links between security and development. A little more than 10 years ago, we began systematically incorporating peacebuilding elements into peacekeeping mandates. Five years ago, we created the Peacebuilding Commission to promote coherence and coordination between security and development actors. And, in the past two years, we have held eight separate thematic debates on peacebuilding and related issues. And yet we are still not where we need to be. Ninety per cent of today's conflicts arise in countries where we have been unsuccessful in consolidating peace after prior wars. There are no easy answers here, and we should not overestimate the international community's role in rectifying deep-seated problems that may have festered for decades. Peace is ultimately in a country's own hands.

But we must do more. A few areas are particularly ripe for fresh thinking. First, while national actors bear the primary responsibility for rebuilding their countries, they often seek timely assistance from genuine international experts. We have been encouraged by early briefings about the forthcoming international review of civilian capacity, which emphasizes more diverse and flexible arrangements for international civilian support to crucial State-building tasks. We look forward to considering the report's recommendations as we review peacekeeping operations.

Secondly, we see scope for new ways for United Nations peace operations to have a positive impact on daily life within their host communities: for example, by using spare engineering capacity to fix a road or clear debris, or increasing local procurement to help revitalize the local economy. We need to be open to such ideas, while also not insisting that peacekeepers undertake key development tasks that others may be more qualified or mandated to do.

Thirdly, the United Nations on its own does not have the resources or capacity to help fully rebuild Government institutions in the aftermath of conflict. We are therefore pleased that the World Bank was invited to brief us today. The Security Council needs a robust and continuing dialogue with the Bretton Woods institutions, multilateral development banks and major donors, which will often underwrite key dimensions of recovery.

Last December, the United States presided over a special Security Council event on voices of a new generation. Young people from around the world sent in e-mails and videos repeating a common refrain: they long for peace, they worry about conditions that could ignite conflict and they see a clear link between security and development. Through the debate you have convened today, Mr. President, the Security Council is demonstrating that their voices are being heard.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are pleased to welcome you, Mr. Minister, as President of the Security Council.

In today's interdependent world, development issues are closely linked to security issues. The Russian Federation views sustainable social and economic development as an essential element of today's collective security system. Global challenges and problems in the area of development — such as destitution and poverty, population migration, limited access to water, energy and food resources, the illegal arms trade, infectious disease pandemics, natural catastrophes and environmental and man-made disasters — can all have negative consequences for peace, stability and security, and, in some cases, the potential for international conflict. These problems should of course be dealt with in depth by the relevant

specialized agencies of the United Nations system and its partners.

In addition, something else that could be essential is the possibility set forth in the Charter of the United Nations for presenting to the Security Council special reports of the Economic and Social Council, which is responsible for coordinating activities in the socio-economic sector of our universal Organization. It is our view that the basic prerogative of the Security Council is maintaining international peace and security using the tools it has at its disposal. It would thus help the Council carry out its tasks relating to dealing with the items on its agenda if it received the most complete and timely information possible from the other agencies of the United Nations system that are responsible for addressing socio-economic development processes at the global, regional and national levels.

Interlinkages between security and development are particularly relevant for States that have experienced conflict. The development processes taking place in such countries in the areas of post-conflict stabilization and building State institutions and law-enforcement, judicial and penal systems all require adequate efforts in the areas of economic recovery and the rebuilding of physical and social infrastructure — in other words, creating a kind of safety net to protect against the recurrence of conflict.

Taking those circumstances into account, the mandates of peacekeeping operations and special peacekeeping missions — in particular in Haiti, the Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Afghanistan, Timor-Leste and Liberia — include early peacebuilding tasks, which United Nations bodies deal with well on the whole. Experience shows that the orderly drawdown of a peacekeeping presence as a situation normalizes in many cases requires concurrent active and targeted actions in the area of peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding activities and development planning rely on the principle of national responsibility for determining priorities and approaches to implementation. A key component of successful post-conflict peacebuilding is the creation and strengthening of national institutional capacity. The United Nations plays a special role in coordinating international efforts at post-conflict and socio-economic recovery. The Organization has acquired vast experience in this area, although this activity gives rise to new challenges, requires the existence of well-trained and qualified personnel and dictates the need for coordinated activities by the Secretariat, United Nations funds and programmes, Member States, regional organizations and international financial institutions at United Nations Headquarters, its various offices and in the field. In that regard, a particularly relevant factor would be to strengthen the coordinating functions of the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General who head United Nations peacekeeping operations and political missions. Another aspect whose potential should be fully utilized is the Peacebuilding Commission, in close cooperation with the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

In conclusion, I would like to express our appreciation to the delegation of Brazil for preparing the draft presidential statement on the subject of today's meeting, which is a useful contribution to our joint work in this important area.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Lebanon.

Mr. Salam (Lebanon): I would like to thank the delegation of Brazil for organizing this important debate, the first of its kind in the Security Council. Today represents a valuable opportunity to discuss the question of interdependence between security and development. Therefore, allow me to thank Their Excellencies the Ministers from Germany, Colombia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Portugal, India and Gabon for joining us, and as well to thank Ambassador Gasana and Ms. Cliffe for their valuable contributions.

The United Nations, the Bretton Woods institutions, the African Union, the European Union and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have all acknowledged that in an increasingly interconnected world, there is no security without development and no development without security.

Despite that broad conceptual acknowledgment, the political debate continues, first, on the nature of the security-development nexus; secondly, on the types of policies that should be pursued to achieve durable peace, security and sustainable development, including to address the root causes and drivers of conflicts; and thirdly, on the way forward for the Security Council to prevent the eruption or protraction of, or relapse into, violence, given the changing nature of conflicts and the security-development nexus, as well expressed in the

concept note prepared by the Mission of Brazil (S/2011/50, annex).

Since the end of the cold war, conflicts have been affecting more civilians, as they have become increasingly entangled with the collapse of State structures, ethnic rivalries, human rights violations and acts of terrorism. Therefore, since 1990 the Council has authorized the deployment of 49 peacekeeping missions, compared with only 18 between 1945 and 1989.

These missions have faced many challenges on the ground, including the severe developmental consequences of armed conflict, particularly among vulnerable populations, whereby societies experiencing civil war and large-scale, violent crime generally achieve lower development outcomes, as expressed in the Concept Note for the *World Development Report 2011*. The Note also sheds light on some of the root causes of conflict, many of which have developmental dimensions. Indeed, environments with high risks of violence are typically characterized by corruption, inequalities, conflict over natural resources, poverty, high unemployment, weak socio-economic institutions and governance, and vulnerability to shocks. Furthermore, climate change and its environmental consequences are likely to increase the risk of war and conflict, due to the stress they exert on already scarce resources.

Given the interdependence between security and development, peacebuilding has emerged as an important tool for bridging the gap between them. In this context, the Security Council noted as early as 2001 "the need for enhancing peace-building activities by formulating a strategy based on the interdependence between sustainable peace, security and development in all its dimensions" (*S/PRST/2001/5, seventh para.*).

For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, peacekeeping mandates have increasingly incorporated peacebuilding tasks. The seminar on United Nations peacekeeping held in Rio de Janeiro in June 2010 recognized that peacebuilding and peacekeeping efforts should be implemented in parallel and that peacebuilding should include socio-economic activities, such as youth employment generation, the development of infrastructure and the provision of basic services, which can reduce the risk of relapse into conflict and help maintain stability.

For all the reasons mentioned thus far, one cannot deny the need to promote sustainable development to achieve sustainable peace. Development is a key component in conflict prevention, post-conflict recovery and peacebuilding. Peace cannot be sustained without job creation, equitable ownership of assets, empowerment of women and adequate allocation of resources. Moreover, peace cannot be sustained without enabling a country's leadership, through appropriate resources, technical capacity and the support of the international community, to unlock those dividends. In that context, we note the example of Burundi. As the Secretary-General clearly stated in his latest report, "Peace, justice and the rule of law cannot be sustained without development." (S/2010/608, para. 71)

Let me also mention that the Taif Accord of 1989 — which helped put an end to 15 years of war and violence in my country, Lebanon — illustrates how development can play an important role in post-conflict recovery and peacebuilding. Indeed, one of the foundations of that Accord is the principle of balanced development. Furthermore, key agreed-upon reforms included the need to draw a comprehensive and balanced development plan to foster socio-economic development. The Accord also provided for the creation of a socio-economic council for development to enable greater participation of the various socio-economic actors. Another key reform is the commitment to provide education for all, including mandatory primary education and restructuring of the public education system to meet the country's developmental needs and foster social cohesion.

Experience in Haiti and with other peacekeeping missions has led some troop-contributing countries to the conclusion that mandates need to be adjusted to better reflect the development mission. Once more, the seminar held in Rio supported that conclusion and acknowledged that peacekeepers ought to be involved in socio-economic development activities. Therefore, when socio-economic issues are identified as drivers of conflicts, or as threats to the consolidation of peace, it becomes of the utmost importance for the Council to address those issues. That will indeed require greater cooperation with other United Nations bodies and organs, the international financial institutions and regional and subregional organizations, based on the principle of comparative advantage.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): We are grateful to you, Sir, and to the Brazilian presidency for bringing to the Council today the issue of the relationship between security and development. It was good to see the many honourable Ministers in the Council, as well as Ambassador Gasana in his first appearance in his role as Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and Sarah Cliffe from the World Bank for their briefings.

The links between security and development are clear cut. Countries affected by conflict and violence have fallen far behind in development. No low-income, fragile or conflict-affected country has yet achieved a single one of the Millennium Development Goals. And as we discussed last month in the debate on institution-building (see S/PV.6472 and Resumption 1), under the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, fragility and conflict are symptoms of institutional failure to manage stress, whether that be high unemployment, organized crime, political disputes or climate change. Building stronger links between security and development is therefore critical for preventing conflict and building sustainable peace.

We have been grappling with these issues in the United Nations for many years, particularly in the peacebuilding arena. The creation of the peacebuilding architecture was the result of the failure to bring critical political, security and development components of the international community together to address the needs of a country emerging from conflict.

The Peacebuilding Commission has started to provide this glue for the countries on its agenda, and we need to continue to strengthen the Commission. The Secretary-General's report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict (S/2010/386*) has also helped to highlight the need for improved leadership, planning and financing. And we are waiting for the review of civilian capacities. But are we now getting the right response on the ground, in places such as the Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo?

We need to be assured that the United Nations is geared up to deliver assistance, so that there is a rapid progress to build people's confidence in the peace process and in State authorities. We have heard from Sarah Cliffe this morning that creating confidence and trust is key. That requires building institutions that can ensure that longer-term institutional reform gets under way quickly so that the causes of conflict are addressed, mechanisms to resolve disputes peacefully are in place and States are both able to respond to public expectations and are accountable. If we are to achieve this, I believe we should focus on four issues in particular in the coming months.

First, we need better integration of efforts. Peacekeeping missions and the United Nations funds and programmes should plan together. We need a clear sense of who is doing what, based on a realistic assessment of capacities, competence and the sequencing of action.

Secondly, there must be a clearer delineation of roles and responsibilities for the core peacebuilding sectors. Without this, we will not get the right investment to ensure predictable and professional response. This is ever more important in an environment where resources are constrained. We do not want peacekeepers drifting into development work. That is neither their mandate nor their field of expertise.

Third, and in response to this, development partners should engage earlier. This means Member States themselves sending consistent signals about priorities in their engagement in the boards of the funds and programmes We should ensure that the agencies have the flexibility to be able to scale up action quickly enough to meet demands on the ground.

Lastly, we look forward to the release of the *World Development Report*. This will give critical insights into the issue we are discussing today. We hope that it will also stimulate better links between the United Nations and the World Bank in fragile and post-conflict countries. We need the World Bank to come actively alongside the United Nations to support peacebuilding. Perhaps one way to help realize this is for the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the World Bank to undertake a joint visit to a number of post-conflict countries.

The United Kingdom stands ready to support the Secretary-General in this important endeavour.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of France.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank you, Sir, for having organized this debate. I will

security and development, and then the specific case of peacekeeping operations.

First, the links between security and development. While there is no unequivocal relationship between economic growth and international security, the unequal distribution of wealth and the marginalization of particular groups or vulnerable regions are often factors in a conflict, particularly intrastate conflict. Other factors can be sources of conflict, including competition for access to basic resources such as water or agricultural land and rivalry for control over precious raw materials and energy resources.

More recently, new threats to security have emerged. I will cite two examples. First is climate change, which can have tragic consequences for people and countries. This is why France and the European Union urge the community of nations to redouble efforts on the basis of the momentum launched at Cancún last December. Second is the issue of food security and the volatility of agricultural prices, which have destabilizing effects. That is one of France's priorities during its presidency of the Group of 20. The French Minister of Agriculture will be in New York next week for the General Assembly before organizing a ministerial meeting of the G-20 on this topic.

In turn, the need for security as a prerequisite for development is well established. In post-conflict situations, national capacity-building in the area of security in keeping with norms for the rule of law is essential in order to establish favourable conditions for development. For example, in a number of countries where the economy relies almost entirely on the work of women, there is a direct link between security and development. When insecurity prevents women from going out to the fields, the ability of families to survive is compromised. That in turn can lead to further escalation in violence. Development actors must therefore take the safeguarding of security into account in their strategies.

For all of those reasons, it is the responsibility of the international community to establish conditions for shared and sustainable development that limit the risk of conflicts breaking out, or continuing. Thus the Peacebuilding Commission, in the countries on its agenda, has made the emancipation of young people and women one of its priorities, alongside security sector reform, as both factors contribute to stability. In the same spirit, the agencies, funds and programmes of the United Nations must all play their role in seeking to improve effectiveness and coordination of their activities on the ground.

Here we note the important contribution of the European Union, the leading donor of development aid, accounting for almost 60 per cent of the aid provided by the member States of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), totalling approximately €50 billion. To take a well-known example, the European Union spends in Somalia one quarter of the €215 million devoted to development just on security capacity support.

Nonetheless, we must not lose sight of the responsibilities of States themselves. Respect for the law, good governance, the strengthening of civil society and the economic integration of marginalized populations — which can be achieved first and foremost through decisions taken by national authorities — are determining factors for peace and security.

I shall now turn to the specific case of peacekeeping operations, where we must draw on three principles for action.

First, we must give greater attention at an earlier stage to the link between security and development. This Council has several times affirmed the need not only to ensure the security of a given area but also to support the political processes as soon as possible and to support the national institutions, particularly in the areas of the rule of law and security. We therefore believe that the links between security and development needs must be taken into consideration as early as possible, starting with the drafting of the mandate for the operation by the Security Council. The implementation of security sector reform and of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes will be effective only if they are carried out in the framework of an improvement of the living conditions of the population.

Secondly, there is the adaptation of tools to situations. We are convinced of the need to give greater attention to development aspects in the peacekeeping mandates. I will refer to two examples. The Blue Helmets of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, among whom the Brazilian contingent plays a remarkable role, ensure security and take on a number of civilian tasks in logistics and health support, which

are necessary in reconstruction and development. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is supporting the authorities in their efforts to clean up the mining sector in order to prevent the plunder of resources.

At the same time, the central factor of peacekeeping operations must remain that of maintaining peace and security. Other stakeholders, including United Nations agencies and bilateral partners, have as their mission to take on the tasks more directly related to development. It is therefore essential to clarify the tasks and responsibilities of each party in the framework of a coherent and comprehensive strategy.

Thirdly, let me address the coordination of partners and national ownership. Aid provided the international community, be it multilateral, regional or bilateral, must be coordinated and integrated as part of a strategy set out in close coordination with the host country. National ownership by the country concerned in that strategy is the fundamental prerequisite for addressing the underlying causes of instability.

The Peacebuilding Commission carries out such activities through integrated strategies in collaboration with the countries on its agenda. Such coordination is crucial in the transition phases when responsibilities are transferred to host countries once they are capable of taking on again all the prerogatives linked to sovereignty. That is a condition for achieving lasting peace on the ground.

The links between security and development are proven, numerous and complex, calling not only for a comprehensive, coherent and coordinated strategy but also for determination and subtlety on our part.

I therefore once again thank you, Sir, for having organized this important debate, which will allow us to further our reflection on strengthening international peace and security.

The President: I will now make a statement in my capacity as the Minister of External Relations of Brazil.

I am greatly pleased that Council members have adopted such a positive response to our proposed debate on the interdependence among peace, security and development. In addition to thanking the Secretary-General, the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and the representative of the World Bank for their statements, I would particularly like to thank the Ministers of Germany, Colombia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Portugal and India and the Vice Minister of Gabon for their presence among us today.

Allow me to start by making a brief historical digression before looking at some of today's challenges and suggesting courses of action.

As we are all keenly aware, the United Nations was created to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war by avoiding a repetition of the mistakes made after World War I. An important aspect of that approach involved parallel initiatives aimed at creating improved economic and social conditions for the recovery of the countries that had been most severely ravaged by World War II, whether they had been the victors or not. Instrumental in the success of that effort was the Marshall Plan, which embodied the notion that a more stable and peaceful international order required not only a credible system of collective security, but also what we might call a recovery or development agenda.

Even though the term "development" was not in use then, the Charter of the United Nations already incorporated the idea of interdependence between peace, security and development. Article 55, on international economic and social cooperation, states that:

> "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote: a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development".

In subsequent years, the concept of development was further refined through the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean — ECLAC — and the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD. In the aftermath of the decolonization process, demands for improved terms of trade and increased development assistance would motivate, in the 1970s, the adoption of a General Assembly resolution calling for a new international economic order (resolution S-VI/3201). The right to development was recognized in a General Assembly declaration in 1986 (resolution 41/128, annex), and in

2000, the General Assembly established the Millennium Development Goals, thereby calling attention to the centrality of combating poverty to our overall agenda.

Over the past two decades, challenges to peace and security brought before this Council have followed new patterns. Once the East-West rivalry was superseded, many situations placed before the Council involved parts of the developing world recently emerged from colonialism in vulnerable conditions. In some cases, their plight was made worse through the proxy wars of the bipolar period.

I am not implying that the most serious threats to peace are to be found today in comparatively poorer and less developed places. That would be a serious misreading of both the current international scenario and historic trends. Many of the situations we are called upon to deal with in the Security Council — from East Timor to Haiti, from Liberia to the Democratic Republic of the Congo — involve societies that do not, in and of themselves, represent a global threat to peace and security. Yet these are countries that have, to varying degrees, suffered conflict and instability in the context of pre-existing situations of poverty, unemployment and fragile institutions, among other conditions, and that deserve our differentiated attention.

We are convinced that purely military or security strategies will not, by themselves, be able to adequately deal with the overwhelming majority of today's situations of conflict. The Security Council has indeed already recognized this by incorporating reconstruction tasks into peacekeeping mandates. As early as 2001, the Council noted the need to enhance peacebuilding activities by formulating a strategy based on the interdependence among sustainable peace, security and development in all its dimensions.

But the main point I would like to make in our debate today is that we can do more and we should be able to do better. We are not proposing to reconfigure the responsibilities of different United Nations organs or agencies, or to transform this Council into a development programme. Today's debate will, in our view, achieve its objective if it contributes to raising awareness of the importance of associating development with the security strategies we conceive for sustainable peace. This is particularly relevant when dealing with situations in Africa and the Middle East and the one situation in the Americas that is part of our agenda, namely, that of Haiti.

From the early stages of the development of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, Brazil, with the invaluable support our Latin American partners and others, has argued for mandates that incorporate reconstruction and peacebuilding activities in parallel with peacekeeping actions. I am particularly gratified that we are in the Council with India and South Africa, which through IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) have been making a very important contribution — as our friend from South Africa mentioned earlier — to Haiti, the occupied Palestinian territories and several other places.

The same perception has guided us in leading, for the past three years, the Peacebuilding Commission's configuration for Guinea-Bissau, a sister lusophone country, where the linkage between security and development is very plain to see.

Sustainable peace implies a comprehensive approach to security. Without economic opportunity, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in and of themselves rarely lead to the desired results. Peacebuilding activities such as support to youth employment and the provision of basic services play an essential role in increasing support for peacekeeping missions, and therefore they have a bearing on the missions' political sustainability on the ground.

Unfortunately, we are all aware of the worrying levels of frustration sometimes associated with the presence of the United Nations in certain parts of the world. We believe this situation could improve if the Council were also to focus on the positive impacts of a well executed, integrated strategy on the part of the agencies, funds, programmes and international financial institutions.

With these considerations in mind, increased cooperation by this Council with the Economic and Social Council is clearly needed, as is greater interaction between this body and the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC).

The PBC came into being to fill an institutional gap in the United Nations. It was born out of the many bitter lessons the United Nations learned from countries lapsing and relapsing into conflict and instability. Its mission is to act as a catalyst or coordinator, within and beyond the United Nations system, for support and

dedicated efforts in consolidating peace and promoting development in countries emerging from conflict, apart from its mandate as a source of advice when there is a risk of conflict.

I hope today's debate will enhance the ability of the United Nations, and this Council in particular, to help post-conflict societies move from a vicious circle of violence and instability into a virtuous circle of peace, security and development.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reaffirms its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security and its readiness to strive for sustainable peace in all situations under its consideration.

"The Security Council underlines that security and development are closely interlinked and mutually reinforcing and are key to attaining sustainable peace. The Council recognizes that their relationship is complex, multifaceted and case-specific.

"The Security Council reiterates that, in order to support a country to emerge sustainably from conflict, there is a need for a comprehensive and integrated approach that incorporates and strengthens coherence between political, security, development, human rights and rule of law activities and addresses the underlying causes of each conflict. In this regard, the Council affirms the necessity to consider relevant economic, political and social dimensions of conflict.

"The Security Council affirms that national ownership and national responsibility are key to establishing sustainable peace. The Council reaffirms the primary responsibility of national authorities in identifying their priorities and strategies for post-conflict peacebuilding, with a view to ensuring national ownership.

"The Security Council reemphasizes the importance of considering and initiating peacebuilding activities from the earliest stages of planning and implementation of peacekeeping operations, including through clear and achievable mandates. The Council stresses the importance of clarity of roles and responsibilities of the United Nations peacekeeping operation and the United Nations country team and other relevant actors for the delivery of prioritized support to a country consistent with its specific peacebuilding needs and priorities, as outlined by national authorities, in order to ensure effective integration of effort. The Council recommends that particular focus be given to improved integration of United Nations effort where peacekeeping missions are operating together with peacebuilding activities of other United Nations actors, such as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Sudan.

"The Security Council notes that successful implementation of the many tasks that peacekeeping operations could be mandated to undertake in the areas of security sector reform; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; rule of law and human rights requires an understanding of and acting with a perspective which takes into account the close interlinkage between security and development. In this context, the Council notes with appreciation the contribution that peacekeepers and peacekeeping missions make to early peacebuilding, including through creating a conducive environment which enables economic recovery and the provision of basic services. The Council acknowledges that this contribution can help to establish and build confidence in the mission.

"The Security Council undertakes to consider how peacekeeping operations can best support national authorities, as appropriate, to articulate peacebuilding priorities, and acting in accordance with these priorities, can both support other national and international actors to implement peacebuilding activities and undertake certain early peacebuilding tasks themselves. The Council underlines that reconstruction, economic revitalization and capacity-building constitute crucial elements for the long-term development of post-conflict societies and in generating sustainable peace, and, in this regard, attaches special importance to national ownership and stresses the significance of international assistance.

"The Security Council notes that in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security under its consideration, conflict analysis and contextual information on, inter alia, social and economic issues is important, when such issues are drivers of conflict, represent a challenge to the implementation of Council mandates or endanger the process of consolidation of peace. "In this regard, the Council requests the Secretary-General to ensure that his reporting to the Council contains such contextual information.

"The Security Council stresses the importance it attaches to the sustainability of peace in post-conflict situations. In this regard, it reaffirms that the overarching objective of peacekeeping missions should be to achieve success through creating the conditions for security and sustainable peace on the ground, thereby allowing for reconfiguration or withdrawal of the mission.

"The Security Council recalls the role played by the illegal exploitation of natural resources in fuelling some past and current conflicts. In this regard, it recognizes that the United Nations can play a role in helping the States concerned, as appropriate, upon their request and with full respect for their sovereignty over natural resources and under national ownership, to prevent illegal access to those resources and to lay the basis for their legal exploitation with a view to promoting development, in particular through the empowerment of Governments in post-conflict situations to better manage their resources.

"The Security Council encourages close cooperation within the United Nations system and with regional, subregional and other organizations on the ground and at Headquarters in order to properly engage in conflict and post-conflict situations, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, and expresses its willingness to consider ways to improve such cooperation.

"The Security Council underlines that integrated action on the ground by security and development actors needs to be coordinated with the national authorities and can significantly contribute to stabilizing and improving the security situation and ensuring the protection of civilians. The Council also notes the importance of cooperation with civil society in this context. The Council affirms that sustainable peace and development cannot be achieved without the inclusion of all relevant stakeholders and underlines that women must be included as active participants in all stages of peacebuilding, peace agreements and development programmes. The Council expresses its willingness to engage in dialogue, where necessary, on specific situations on its agenda with other actors, including United Nations agencies, funds and programmes and international financial institutions.

"The Security Council encourages Member States, particularly those represented on the governance structures of the United Nations agencies, funds and programmes, to promote coherence in the United Nations work in conflict and post-conflict situations.

"The Security Council reiterates its support for the work of the Peacebuilding Commission and its readiness to make greater use of the Commission's advisory role. The Council further recognizes the need for coordination and dialogue with the Commission. The Council calls upon the Commission to continue to promote an integrated and coherent approach to peacebuilding and to seek to ensure that development and security-related activities supported by the Commission are mutually reinforcing.

"The Security Council highlights the contribution that the Economic and Social Council can make in addressing economic, social, cultural and humanitarian issues and underlines the importance of close cooperation in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter of the United Nations."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under symbol S/PRST/2011/4.

I recognize the presence of the Foreign Ministers of Costa Rica and Slovenia.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. René Castro Salazar, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica.

Mr. Castro Salazar (Costa Rica) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like thank the delegation of Brazil for convening this open debate. My country commends this initiative, which reflects Brazil's international leadership and its relevant contributions to global discussions. I would like to thank the representative of the Peacebuilding Commission and the representative of the World Bank.

I should also like to highlight the linkages between the subject of our discussion today and the debate on institution-building as a means of peacebuilding (see S/PV.6472), which was held on 21 January at the initiative of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

That is consistent with of our commitment to human security. We therefore associate ourselves with the statement to be made by Ambassador Norachit Sinhaseni, Permanent Representative of Thailand, on behalf of the Human Security Network.

Costa Rica is convinced that a better approach to the challenges of development will generate greater security, just as a more balanced and civilian-oriented approach to security generates development.

The most urgent problems related to violence and insecurity more easily take root, and grow especially unmanageable, in countries and regions with a pronounced lack of opportunities. Problems such as piracy in various parts of the Indian Ocean and the recruitment of young people into violent gangs linked to drug trafficking in some Latin American countries are, in great measure, consequences of that lack of options.

Furthermore, the lack of solid democratic institutions and respect for civil and political rights, the distortion of national priorities and the lack of connections between those who govern and those who are governed hinder development, produce insecurity and generate conflicts that can have global repercussions. A consideration of the link between development and security, including coherent actions, should therefore also include dimensions relating to the rule of law, improving institutions, a culture of tolerance and democratic practices.

The problems of development and security in the developing world are stunning, but their contributing factors are not solely home-grown. A large number of the weapons that kill and mutilate innocent people in developing countries and also serve to increase violence and generate conflict in those countries are manufactured in developed countries, including some with long-standing democratic institutions and Governments characterized by a high level of integrity. Some of those countries also serve as the main markets for drugs and as facilitators for money laundering. Others practice immigration policies that often encourage human trafficking.

Having referred to those issues, it is not my intention to fix blame. Costa Rica believes that we ourselves are primarily responsible for our successes and failures. However, we are convinced that entrenching security requires that we promote development, good governance and a comprehensive approach to conflict — all of which require greater coordination at the global level, better legal instruments and more focused multilateral action. To achieve that, the United Nations needs to take several courses of action. I should like to refer to a few. They are to work on both preventive diplomacy and preventive development; to move from peace processes towards development processes, including institutional development; to set up integrated and multidimensional missions; to ensure the organic involvement of civil society and non-governmental organizations; and to work seriously on disarmament and arms control policies. No less important are efforts at sustainable development, with a clear human dimension.

In some of those tasks, the Security Council has very clear mandates and resources, and has issued very significant statements. In others, responsibilities and action belong to other bodies, ranging from the General Assembly or the Secretariat to specialized organizations. We must also bear in mind the contribution of entities outside the framework of the United Nations.

During the past 10 years, global military expenditures increased by 45 per cent to the outrageous sum of $1.531 trillion in 2009. If 10 per cent of those resources had been devoted to attaining the Millennium Development Goals, we would be very close to their achievement. Costa Rica therefore emphasizes efforts such as the negotiation and adoption of an arms trade treaty. My country's interest in international peace and disarmament instruments stems from considerable experience of the close interdependence between security and development. Sixty-two years ago, when Costa Rica abolished its army as a standing institution and earmarked the majority of Government resources

for the well-being of its citizens, it put into practice a security paradigm linked to development.

Our security system is founded on two basic pillars. Domestically, it is based on social cohesion and implicit agreement on collective adherence to democracy, human rights, opportunities, sustainable development and capacity-building. We have entrusted the second, external, pillar to international law, in particular to collective security systems and international tribunals.

That paradigm has produced significant progress on human development, within a context of peace and democracy. Nothing will divert us from that path, which is currently being severely tested. Little more than 100 days ago, our country suffered a foreign armed intervention. Part of our territory is still occupied.

In the face of that serious situation, Costa Rica has maintained its good sense and its faith in international law and the multilateral system. We trust in their effectiveness and in international solidarity to protect peace and to promote the development of Central America. If international security is not grounded in respect for the law, it can be based only on balancing force, which is as fragile for peace as it is unproductive for the development and well-being of peoples.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Samuel Žbogar, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Slovenia.

Mr. Žbogar (Slovenia): At the outset, allow me to thank Brazil and my friend Foreign Minister Antonio de Aguiar Patriota for convening today's important and timely debate on the interdependence between security and development. I welcome the decision to build upon the relevant conclusions of recent Security Council debates addressing peace and security from different angles. The adoption of the presidential statement (S/PRST/2011/4) is a significant contribution to that end.

I want to thank the Secretary-General for his insightful remarks, which gave us a clearer idea of the problems and opportunities. At the same time, I appreciate the respective contributions by the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission and by the representative of the World Bank.

Let me also take this opportunity to congratulate the new non-permanent members of the Security Council, namely, Colombia, Germany, India, Portugal and South Africa. I also wish to congratulate Bosnia and Herzegovina for its very successful presidency in January.

Slovenia fully aligns itself with the statements to be delivered on behalf of the European Union and of the Human Security Network.

Over the past few years, increasingly more attention has been paid to conflict prevention and to the security-development nexus, including the complementarity, coordination and coherence of multilateral cooperation. We have come to realize that in today's globalized world, distance has lost its meaning. A country may be situated on the other side of the world, but its problems reach us all. We know that there can be neither peace nor security without sustainable development, and vice versa. It is more likely for conflicts to break out in countries with a large population living in poverty and inequality of wealth and in those where human rights and the rights of minorities and ethnic groups are not respected.

We therefore need to focus on addressing the root causes of conflicts, achieving sustainable development, good governance and the rule of law and promoting respect for human rights and a culture of tolerance. Preventing unnecessary deaths and ensuring that all people live free of fear and want and in dignity are a matter of solidarity and moral imperative. Over 1 billion people live in fragile and conflict-affected States. We need to help build effective and resilient national institutions that prevent a country from slipping back into conflict. We need to invest more in prevention. The costs of conflicts are high, and the unrest can spill over to neighbouring countries and the wider region. Economic development reduces the risk of the onset of a conflict, while deprivation from economic and political participation can catalyse one.

Unstable security situations and armed violence and conflict, which lead to a breakdown of the rule of law and, very often, to massive human rights violations, pose a serious threat to human development and the progress made on the Millennium Development Goals. We need to effectively manage the crucial phase of transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding. Peacekeepers should be able to contribute to the early

phases of peacebuilding where they are in a position to do so.

A well-coordinated and timely combination of political, development, security and humanitarian measures is needed in order to provide an efficient response to such situations. The Peacebuilding Commission plays an important role in that respect. Slovenia supports the strengthening of institutional arrangements between the various United Nations actors, along with closer cooperation and dialogue between the Security Council and the Peacebuilding Commission. We welcome ongoing efforts to enhance coordination between the United Nations and the World Bank. There is a need to strengthen international civilian capacities for post-conflict peacebuilding, and we welcome the recommendations of the Secretary-General's report on the review of international civilian capacities in that respect.

Slovenia has been an active participant in peacebuilding and institution-building efforts. Slovenia implements various humanitarian and development cooperation projects to provide help in areas affected by war or other security challenges — for example, demining projects carried out by the International Trust Fund for Demining and Mine Victims Assistance and the project for the rehabilitation of children affected by the recent conflict in Gaza.

Humanitarian demining and mine-victim assistance contribute to security in post-conflict societies and enable the restoration of economically viable land and institutions, thus helping victims and their families while, at the same time, lessening the suffering and contributing to the rebuilding of social structures. Based on Slovenia's experiences in the Western Balkans, we can affirm that humanitarian demining can offer the parties a technical platform for dialogue, which can consequently lead to regional cooperation.

In societies where the local population suffers the consequences of conflict, the understanding of national and local contexts is crucial to effective conflict resolution and peacebuilding. However, one must not forget that political conditions are country-specific and that blueprint solutions may not be universally applicable. For successful human, economic and social development, the dependence of a society on international assistance has to be gradually but steadfastly reduced, and its self-reliance promoted. That has to be a step-by-step process. Nevertheless, it is vital to increase the local population's stake and ownership as the guiding principles of partnerships between security and development actors on the ground.

Therefore, the participation of civil society, including the most vulnerable groups, in the development and implementation of peacebuilding and post-conflict processes is of major importance. That is why we must consistently promote the significant role of women and encourage their participation and full involvement in post-conflict activities and societies, especially because women are important drivers of social, family and economic lives in conflict and post-conflict situations.

Allow me to conclude by saying that the partnership between security and development needs to be strengthened and must include global, international, regional and local actors and civil society. There is no development without security, and a lack of security can seriously undermine development.

The President: There are still a number of speakers remaining on my list for this meeting. I intend, therefore, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.10 p.m.